AASE AND PEER GYNT

In a previous article (Ibsen's Peer Gynt and Paa Vidderne, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1910) the writer connected the whole scene in Gudbrandsdal. depicted in the first three acts of Ibsen's Peer Gynt, with the poem Paa Vidderne (1859), in which the general setting bore a marked resemblance to certain phases of Peer Gynt's early life. The hero in exile upon the mountains, his return to the valley to visit his mother, the description of the beautiful, naïve Norwegian girl, the little red hut, the cat, the aged mother, her death and the scene in which the hero bears her aloft to heaven; all these have their counterparts in both poems. It is a question, however, whether the relations of Peer Gynt to his mother may not have been tinged by sources extraneous to the poet, as well as by the previous poetic conception of the relations of mother to son, to which Ibsen himself had given such beautiful expression in Paa Vidderne.

In Oehlenschläger's Aladdin (1805) we have a relation of mother to son in Morgiane and Aladdin, which in its general conception and individual details bears such a striking resemblance to the relations of Aase to Peer Gynt in Ibsen's poem, that a comparison of the two works in this regard is not out of place, however fortuitous many of these resemblances may be or however much they may owe their origin to like situations.

It is not the purpose of this article to prove how far Ibsen was in general or in this particular regard indebted to Oehlenschläger for the material which he used in his dramas, or for his ideals of Romantic poetry. It is sufficient to state that especially in the very early part of his career 1 he was very strongly influenced by the great Danish Romantic poet.

¹Cf. especially "Kjæmpehøien," 1850, which Henrik Jæger called "an impersonal study after the manner of Oehlenschläger's Norse tragedies."

The forerunners of Peer Gynt which gave poetic expression to the great life-problem of individuality are too numerous to mention. How far Ibsen may have drawn from these numerous sources in depicting the life of Peer Gynt, it is impossible to state.2 But in view of Ibsen's close connection with the Danish Romantic School, it seems hardly probable that he was left entirely unaffected by the Danish masterpieces of this nature, especially such works as Heiberg's En Sjæl efter Døden (1841), Paludan-Müller's Adam Homo (1841) or Oehlenschläger's Aladdin (1805). If Ibsen was at all affected by any of these works, it is most natural to look to Oehlenschläger as the author to whom he was indebted, since Oehlenschläger exerted the strongest influence upon him of any of the Danish poets.

In Aladdin Oehlenschläger gives expression to the ideal of life which he himself held, which in essence was a justification of the Romantic conception of life, the realization of perfection through constant striving for the ideal. The tremendous influence which this work exerted throughout the North cannot be overestimated, and it is highly improbable that Ibsen was not strongly impressed both by the beauty and the inner significance of this poem. As regards the literary significance of Aladdin, Georg Brandes once said: "Aladdin er Udgangspunktet for nyere dansk Aandsliv, Grundstenen, over hvilken den Bygning er opført, som udgør dansk Litteratur i det 19. Aarhundredets første Halvdel."

In Peer Gynt Ibsen likewise gives expression, although in an entirely negative way, to his ideal of life, "at være sig selv." The identity of purpose in depicting the inner struggle of the soul with the problems of life renders the assumption not impossible that Ibsen may have been affected by the impression which Oehlenschläger's work made upon the literary world of the North.

² Cf. Christian Collin, Ibsen's Peer Gynt, Samtiden, p. 593 ff., 1913.

Aside from the fact that *Peer Gynt* was essentially a Romantic product (although, of course, the expression also of a totality of life which went far beyond the bounds set by the ideals of the Romantic School), there was something identical in the life of Ibsen with certain ideals and experiences in Oehlenschläger's life, which lend great plausibility to the belief that the scenes in which the relations of Aase to her son are depicted, may to a large extent have been colored by Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin*.

It is the purpose of this article to emphasize only one conception involved in Ibsen's Peer Gynt and Oehlenschläger's Aladdin. This conception, identical in both poems, is the relations of mother to son; Aase to Peer Gynt in Ibsen's poem and Morgiane to Aladdin in Oehlenschläger's. The resemblance is so striking that one can hardly avoid the conclusion that Ibsen must have been affected in this regard by Oehlenschläger's Aladdin, even if one cannot prove that the individual features involved were directly due to Oehlenschläger's Both Ibsen and Oehlenschläger modelled the character of the mother directly (although, of course, with necessary exaggeration) upon that of their own parent. In a letter to Peter Hansen (October 28, 1870) Ibsen says: "Dette digt (Peer Gynt) indeholder meget, som har sin foranledning i mit eget ungdomsliv; til Åse har, med fornødne overdrivelser, min egen moder avgivet modellen. (Ligeså til 'Inga' i 'Kongsemnerne')." And Oehlenschläger in his memoirs, after telling how Aladdin with his magic lamp was the symbolic expression of his own life's struggle as a poet, adds: "Min Moder var død, og da jeg skrev Aladdin's Vuggesang paa hans Moder's Grav, flød mine Taarer over min egen Moder."

In both poems the hero is a dreamer who is a victim of circumstances and his own delusions. Aladdin works out his own salvation by a realization of his inherent powers. Peer Gynt, on the other hand, succumbs to his inherited weaknesses, failing to realize the true meaning of life. Of Peer Gynt Georg Brandes says (Verdens Gang, 1906): "Oprindelig er

han et ganske interessant menneske, hvem forholdene mishandler." So, too, Nureddin says of Aladdin whom his mother has upbraided for his incapacity to comprehend the practical things of life (*Aladdin*, Act I):

Saavidt som jeg kan mærke paa Aladdin, Saa er han af en ædel, stolt Natur. For ung til aabne sig en Bane, Nedtrykt af al den Armod rundt omkring sig. Er han ei vaagnet ret endnu, og derfor Har Leg og Lediggang bestandig tumlet Den ubevidste Siæl, som i en Vugge.

This Faustian stamp laid upon the characters of Peer Gynt and Aladdin renders their individuality in a measure identical and may account, to a certain extent, for the attitude in both poems of the practical mother towards a son whom she believes worthless, on account of this pernicious tendency to waste life in idle revery. It was Oehlenschläger's purpose to justify the idealist's dreams, while Ibsen portrayed the fatal results of a character which was absolutely incapable of putting its dreams into action. But, however much this may explain the general attitude of the mother to the son, identical in both poems, a comparison in detail of those scenes in which mother and son appear, reveals such a striking-in some cases an almost verbal—similarity that the writer is prone to believe that Aase and Peer reflected much that was represented in Oehlenschläger's Morgiane and Aladdin.

An attempt will here be made to connect in detail the identical features in these scenes between mother and son in the two poems. In general it may be said that in both poems the scenes in which mother and son are involved, are a very important feature in the delineation of the youthful character of the hero and from an esthetic view-point they are indispensable to the poetic value of the work, for they lend to both poems their highest flights of poetic fantasy and their most human and touching pathos. The detailed comparison is as follows.

In Aladdin (Act I) when Nureddin approaches Morgiane, as her alleged brother-inlaw, for the purpose of soliciting the services of her son in the quest of the magic lamp, he inquires into the character of Aladdin. Morgiane describes her son exactly as Peer Gynt is, a reckless, good-for-nothing young ruffian, who runs away from his work, leaving her with the whole responsibility of the household duties, tearing his clothes for her to mend, and continually getting into fights with the other boys of the village. Yet she always defends him whenever anyone else attempts to abuse him, just as Aase does Peer Gynt.

Ak, hvortil han har Lyst? At gaae paa Gaden Den hele, lange Dag, at spille Skorsteen, Nærmest til Væg, Klink, Pind, og So i Hullet; At søle sig Snavset som et Sviin, At rive Buærne itu for Knæet, At slide Hul paa sine Albuærmer, At slaaes, at bande og at løbe gal.

So, too, Aase (Act I) upbraids Peer for running off on a wild chase (for the deer) when duty demands him at home. He returns with torn trousers but without the game; a fruitless chase indicative of a careless regard for her and her household duties.

Og du skæms ej for din moer? Først så render du tilfjelds månedsvis i travle ånnen, for at vejde ren på fånnen, kommer hjem med reven pels, uden byrse, uden vildt.

Peer, too, is continually getting into fights, the most famous of which was his battle at Lunde with his ancient enemy, the blacksmith. For this, too, Aase upbraids him.

Kan du nægte du var fremste Mand i laget i det store basketaget, som for nylig stod på Lunde, der I slogs som olme Hunde.

Morgiane, in her answer to Nureddin, reproaches Aladdin for his absolute lack of practical sense. Though son of a tailor, "he doesn't know enough to comb his own hair."

> Hvad kan vel det forslaae? Han gidder ei Bestille—Gud forlade ham, det Skarn! Saa meget, som at kæmme selv sit Haar.

This reproach reminds one very strongly of the wise answer which Aase makes (Act I) to Peer's egotistical pretensions and wild prognostications of his future greatness.

> Gid du bare blev så klog, at du engang kunde bøde flængen i din egen brog.

In this same passage (Morgiane's answer to Nureddin's inquiries concerning Aladdin's character) Morgiane laments the fact that Aladdin's reckless conduct and impractical character have forced her to bear alone the whole burden of the home. She is now a widow, just as Aase is.

Alt ligger paa mig arme stakkels Kone. Han skulde være Skrædder, som hans Fader; Men ak, Gud bedre ham for Skrædd'r, han er!

So Aase, too, upbraids Peer for not supporting her in her old age. He has wasted the wealth of his forefathers and, to crown all, has cast shame upon her name.

Ti stille!
Kan jeg glædes, om jeg vilde,
jeg som har sligt svin til søn?
Må det ikke bittert krænke
mig, en stakkars magtløs enke,
stødt at fange skam for løn?
(græder igen)
Hvad har slægten nu tilbage
fra din farfars velmagtsdage?
Hvor er skæpperne med mynt
efter gamle Rasmus Gynt?

Ak, du er dog stærk og stor, skulde stå som stav og støtte for din gamle skrale moer.

Morgiane, like Aase, has a most affectionate regard for her son and whenever anyone else attempts to abuse him, her mother-instinct impels her to defend him. Thus she always took his part when his father was alive, who was continually abusing him.

Da Mustapha endnu var levende, Tog jeg det Skarn i Forsvar; Himlens Straf Nu kommer over mig for al min Svaghed.

This attitude on her part is especially evident (Act II) when Aladdin reports the shocking

news that Nureddin betrayed him and cruelly abused him by striking him in the face.

Morgiane. (opbragt)

Og hvad som værre var: slaa dig paa Øret, Saa nær du næsten havdet tumlet om. Den næsviis! hvem har givet ham vel Lov til At tugte fremmede Forældres Børn? Den slette Karl!

So too Aase, though ready herself to flog Peer at any moment, always defends him against the insinuations or abuse of those outside the family, whether they be just or not. When the smithy in malicious glee threatens to hang Peer, Aase angrily defies him (Act I): "Hvad! Hænge min Peer! Ja, prøv om I tør;" and when Ingrid's father (Act I) swears that he will take Peer's life for the crime which the latter has committed, Aase likewise defies him with a mother's pride.

Hægstadbonden. (kommer barhovedet og hvid af vrede). Jeg tager hans liv for det bruderov!

A nej Gud straffe mig om I får lov!

Her unselfish mother's attitude towards Peer is summed up (Act II) in her reply to the man who consigns Peer on account of his sins to the eternal abode of the wicked.

Å-ja, å-ja; jeg er dårlig; men gutten er bra'!

Morgiane, in spite of Aladdin's incapacity in practical affairs, has always fostered a firm faith in his future. She believes that some day he will be "something great," just as he has continually told her, although she reproaches him for his fanatical ideas and his connection with the magic lamp. She pictures him (Act II) as some day being a rich and prominent merchant from whom she shall buy her linen (the rich merchant was the highest ideal of success among the Mussulmen of the Orient).

Nu tænkte jeg Saa vist, den hellige Grav var vel forvart At vist du skulde blevet noget Stort, At altid jeg mit Lærred skulde kiøbe Hos dig, naar først du var en fornem Kiøbmand.

Peer's life is likewise made up of these extravagant pretensions, which he is continually trying to impress upon his mother (Act I).

Lille stygge, snille moer, du kan lide på mit ord, hele bygden skal dig hædre, bare vent til jeg får gjort noget—noget rigtigt stort!

His mother has shared his dreams with him from early infancy and although she indignantly reproaches him for his extravagant pretensions, nevertheless she is consciously or unconsciously a proud partner in his heralded future. When she is in an angry mood because of Peer's usurpation of her authority and his acts of violence towards her, she playfully prophesies that he will gain the crown of life upon the gallows (Act I): "du blir sagtens hengt tilsidst." But when her darling son is accused of being a hardened sinner and a criminal (Act II), she recounts his great deeds with a mother's pride, believing him, if opportunity allows, capable, in part at least, of the many "great things" which he has prophesied concerning himself.

Manden.

Manden.

Tror du han kan for sin syndegæld sukke?

Åse.

(ivrig).

Nej, men han kan ride i luften på bukke!

Ingen gerning er ham for stor. I skal se, får han bare leve så længe.

Aladdin, in his suit for the hand of the Sultan's daughter, selects his mother as his spokesman. He is induced to elect her to this perilous office because of his admiration for her superior wisdom. His mother assumes the obligations of this task, but true to her sincere and upright character warns Aladdin that she shall not attempt to conceal from the Sultan the fact as to her son's plebeian birth. She shall describe Aladdin just as he is, the son of "en fattig Skrædderenke."

So, too, Peer Gynt begs his mother (Act I) to act as his spokesman in his suit for Ingrid's hand. He would rather rely upon her wisdom than upon himself, of whose clumsiness and

lack of tact he is painfully conscious. Asse is glad to assume this office, in which she finds an opportunity to vent her anger by giving a truthful description of Peer's character, much to the latter's discomfort.

Peer.

Vær min talsmand. Du er klog; snak med ham, den gamle dåren— Åse.

Ja, det kan du bande på! Du skal vakkert skudsmål få. Skildres skal du for og agter; alle dine fandens fagter skal jeg nævne grejdt og grant.

When Aladdin (Act IV) is released from prison on condition that he shall restore the Sultan's daughter and the palace within a given time, he returns home to visit his mother. He is met at the door of his house by a stranger who informs him that his mother is dead. The stranger, ignorant of Aladdin's identity, tells him that Morgiane's son, by committing a crime (against the person of the Sultan) has caused her to die of a broken heart. Since Aladdin is now an outlaw, the few precious household goods are left without an inheritor. With deep pathos the stranger speaks of these simple articles of the home, which bring with them a flood of memories and tender associations.

Manden.

Gaa I kun med Gud.
Alting staar der endnu, som før det stod.
Det gamle Huusgeraad og hendes Rok.
Jeg veed ei ret, hvad jeg skal giøre med det,
Det gamle Skramleri; det duer ikke,
Og der er ingen Arvinger, thi Sønnen
Har jo forbrudt sit Gods og Liv.

Det er dog tungt for slige gamle Folk. Hun døde nu af Kummer for sin Søn, Det skammelige Skarn!

There is a strong resemblance in this scene to that in which Peer (Act III), after committing the bold crime of seducing Ingrid, returns to visit his mother. His offence against the law has resulted in the confiscation of his mother's household goods. With a pathos similar to that of the stranger in Aladdin, Aase and the faith-

ful Kari (Act III) dwell upon the few articles of the household which the avaricious Hægstadbonde has overlooked; Peer's coat ("Kuften"), the skin-blanket, the old moulding ladle, his socks, and two old woolen shirts. Tender memories are associated with these simple things, which are all that is left of her beloved son. This sorrow, too, is directly followed by her death, just as in the case of Morgiane, although Aase does not expressly state that Peer was the cause of it.

Aladdin then (Act IV) enters the house and catching sight of the old spinning-wheel undisturbed in its customary place just as his mother has left it, plies it himself in playful and affectionate imitation of his mother. In this regard one is involuntarily reminded of Peer Gynt's boyish attempts to amuse his mother upon her death-bed and especially of that last great ride up to heaven when he throws the reins over the chair and licks up his steed, Grane, in boyish imitation of the many rides they used to take when mother and son still lived in the early youth of domestic joy and love.

Aladdin then (Act IV) goes out to his mother's grave and sings a cradle-song to her, that song over which the author himself shed tears in memory of his own mother, whose spirit had just passed away. There is a pathos and an affection here which approach very closely that sublime sentiment to which Ibsen gave expression in Aase's death-scene. It does not lie beyond the bounds of probability that Ibsen may have drawn inspiration for Aase's death-scene in *Peer Gynt* from the exquisite expression of maternal affection in Aladdin's "Vuggesang."

Both Aladdin and Peer treat their mother with a child's affection. Aladdin rocks his mother to sleep with a plaintive lullaby:

Visselulle nu, Barnlil! Sov nu sødt, og sov nu længe, Skiøndt din Vugge stander stil, Uden Duun og uden Gænge.

Peer amuses his mother with childish ingenuity, seeking to quiet her pain and quell her fears. Both are filled with an inexpressible gratitude for the love which the mother had bestowed upon each of them in his childhood. Their affection is naturally connected with those early days when the heart of the mother and child are as one. Aladdin's song is only in return for that which his mother once sang over his cradle.

> Du har ofte vugget mig, Nu skal jeg dig atter vugge.

Peer (Act III) likewise playfully reciprocates his mother's love when she rocked him to sleep in the cradle, as he presses the last kiss upon her cold cheek.

> Hav tak for alle dine dage, for bank og for barne-bys! Men nu får du takke tilbage— (trykker kinden mod hendes mund) Se så; det var tak for skyds.

It is possible also that Aladdin's "Vuggesang" may have suggested the form and sentiment of Solveig's song:

Sov du, dyreste gutten min! Jeg skal vugge dig, jeg skal våge.

although there is, of course, no necessary connection between the two.

Aladdin imagines (Act IV) that he is still in possession of the magic lamp. Concealing this imaginary lamp beneath his cloak he sallies forth into the crowd upon the street, confident that by virtue of his magic lamp he will straightway retrieve his ill fortune. He is met on all sides by jeers and derisive laughter from the crowd, who believe him mad. Stung to the quick Aladdin resents their taunts and resorts to active violence by pelting them with stones. He warns them to step out of the way when he conjures up the lost palace, lest they be crushed to death. He himself leaps out of the way, which confirms them in their conviction that he is a mad dreamer and adds to their amusement in taunting an eccentric character.

Tag jer i Agt, nu kommer Slottet strax, Staa det i Veien ei, det Knuser eder. (han løber tilside. En stor Skoggerlatter). Even so does Peer Gynt (Act I) furnish endless amusement for the peasants assembled at Ingrid's wedding festival. They delight in taunting this eccentric dreamer who makes such amusing pretensions concerning himself, just as is the case with Aladdin. Their jeers and mockery cut Peer to the quick.

> Stødt så flirer de bag ens ryg, og tisker, så det tvers igennem en brænder

Øjekast; sylhvasse tanke og smil. Det gnisler, som sagbladet under en fil.

But strong brandy soon heals Peer's sensitive pride, whereupon he indulges in those wild tales for which he is famous and which lend amusement to the festive occasion. The older, more sober members of the crowd are sure that Peer is mad.

Peer Gynt
(med et slæng)
Hej, jeg kan ride
rakt gennem luften på gilde heste!
Å, jeg kan mangeting, jeg, skal I vide.
(Skoggerlatter igen).

The similarity in these scenes, just mentioned in the two works, consists of the wild dreams which both heroes foster, their sensitive natures and the cruel attitude of an unsympathetic, realistic world.

Aladdin then casts aside his imaginary lamp, whose worthlessness he has discovered, and starts out on his journey of life in quest of the true lamp. Peer Gynt's real life in the active world likewise begins after his mother's death.

This brief comparison of the scenes in which mother and son are involved in Oehlenschläger's Aladdin and Ibsen's Peer Gynt points toward the conclusion that, although much may be fortuitous by virtue of the similarity of character in the person of Aladdin and Peer Gynt, yet it is equally probable that in these particular scenes Ibsen may have, to a certain extent at least, been indebted to Oehlenschläger both for his inspiration in general and for many individual features involved in Peer Gynt's relations to his mother, Aase. The character of the mother, based as it was in both poems

upon that of the author's own parent has a universal sympathy and affection which is characteristic of all true mothers. But this will hardly account for the striking similarity in detail which both poems show in those scenes where the relation of mother and son is involved.

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TWO DISCIPLES OF TRANSCENDEN-TALISM

It has been said by someone 1 that Emerson holds in America about the same position as a reflector of spiritual experience and as an interpreter of the characteristic thought of his times as Tennyson holds in England. Other than this statement no one, so far as known to me, has thought of coupling the names of these two writers. Yet a comparison of their writings reveals certain likenesses which may have been overlooked. Tennyson was not, of course, the same kind of philosopher as Emerson was; his thoughts ranged over a wider field, and he did not concern himself entirely with speculations about the soul and its relations. He was interested in the great social and political questions of his day also. Nevertheless, when Tennyson did drop into meditation about matters spiritual we find him in a rather transcendental atmosphere and very close to Emerson.

On comparing them, one is impressed by many parallelisms in their thoughts, not only in the published essays and poems, but in observations uttered from time to time and recorded by their biographers. These similarities are most striking, however, in those writings which are admittedly the chief expressions of thought concerning spiritual things. In Memoriam, The Higher Pantheism, The Ancient Sage contain mainly Tennyson's idealistic views, while the central thought of all Emerson's philosophy

¹H. W. Mabie, "How to Study Tennyson and Emerson," Ladies Home Journal, March, 1908. is found in the essay, "The Over-Soul." There are passages in Tennyson that are almost and often altogether identical in thought with passages in Emerson's essays; their likenesses are indeed so striking that when I first observed them I hesitated to publish them because I thought it impossible that they had not been noticed. But I have searched in vain through the commentators and can find no instance of where Tennyson has been called a transcendentalist or where his name has been linked to that of Emerson.

Let us take as a first example, just to see how they touch each other, their attitude toward doctrine or formal belief. We find that neither Tennyson nor Emerson had a definite or formal system of belief. Emerson, in a letter to a Dr. Ware, who had taken exception to some of his views, writes, "I could not give an account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you so cruelly hint at on which any doctrine of mine stands." Tennyson, we are told in the *Memoir* (vol. I, p. 308), once said that he would not formulate his creed, for people would not understand him if he did. He was one of those who seemed:

To have reached a purer air, Whose faith has center everywhere Nor cares to fix itself to form.

Compare also what they both held about immortality. Emerson believed in immortality "not because of the statement of Luke and John but because it is a law of the spirit," and Tennyson writes (In Memoriam, xxxiv),

My own dim life should teach me this That life shall live for evermore.

We find this passage from Emerson, "Love is our highest word and the synonym of God" (Essay on "Love"). And with the same meaning of the word love, Tennyson at the beginning of his elegy invokes the "Strong Son of God, Immortal Love."

They held, too, the same idea as to beauty or art, for Emerson writes (Essay on "Art"), "As soon as beauty is sought, not from religion and love but for pleasure, it degrades the seeker." This is, of course, the teaching of *The Palace of Art*, where the selfish soul sought beauty for mere pleasure, but shut out love and was thus degraded.

Further than this we find views such as the belief that there is a tendency for all thingsto become better, that the source of man's power is from above, that the senses have affected the soul so that it looks on time and space as real, striking in the similarity of expression. Emerson, in an address before The Free Religious Association, laid down as the first simple foundation of his faith, "that the Author of my nature has not left himself without witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made; that there is a Force always at work to make the best better and the worst good." With the last clause compare the stanzas in Canto liv of In Memoriam:

Oh, yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;

That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroy'd,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete;

In "The Over-Soul" stand these sentences:
"Man is a stream whose source is hidden.
Always our being is descending into us from we know not whence. . . . I am constrained every moment to acknowledge a higher origin for events than the will I call mine." How like this is the passage from The Ancient Sage:

This wealth of waters might but seem to draw From you dark cave, but, son, the source is higher, You summit half-a-league in air—and higher, The cloud that hides it—higher still, the heavens Whereby the cloud was moulded, and whereout The cloud descended. Force is from the heights.

Emerson writes, also in "The Over-Soul":
"The influence of the senses has in most men
overpowered the mind to that degree that the
walls of time and space have come to look
solid, real and insurmountable;" and again,
"Before the great revelations of the soul, Time,

Space, and Nature shrink away. In common speech we refer all things to time, as we habitually refer the immensely sundered stars to one concave sphere." Compare with this the lines from *The Ancient Sage*:

But with the Nameless is nor Day nor Hour;
Tho' we, thin minds, who creep from thought to
thought
Break into 'Thens' and 'Whens' the Eternal Now:

A favorite doctrine of Emerson's is that known as the Universal Soul, a pantheistic idea which forms a considerable part of his teaching. He says ("The Over-Soul") that a prevailing soul of the universe hallows the world, hallows humanity, fills nature with beauty, "that Unity, that Over-soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other;" and also, "I am somehow receptive of the great soul." Some such belief, it would seem, was held by Tennyson also, for he said, "I've often had a strange feeling of being wound and wrapped in the Great Soul." This was said in explanation of the stanzas in Canto xcv of In Memoriam:

So word by word, and line by line,
The dead man touch'd me from the past,
And all at once it seem'd at last
The living soul was flashed on mine,

And mine in this was wound and whirl'd About empyreal heights of thought, And came on that which is, and caught The deep pulsations of the world,

Again in *The Ancient Sage* we find this passage which relates a similar experience of being immerged in the great soul:

And more, my son! far more than once when I Sat all alone, revolving in myself
The word that is the symbol of myself,
The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,
And past into the Nameless, as a cloud
Melts into Heaven.

Both Tennyson and Emerson held in common that the world was in some way a part of a Divine whole, a manifestation in a mysterious manner of God. Emerson says ("The OverSoul"), "We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree; but the whole, of which these are the shining parts, is the Soul." Tennyson, in *The Higher Pan*theism, says,

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—

Are not these, O Soul, the vision of Him who reigns?

Tennyson said, moreover, to his friend Mr. Locker-Lampson "that perhaps this earth and all that is on it—storms, mountains, cataracts, the sun, and the skies—are the Almighty: in fact that such is our petty nature, we cannot see Him, but we see His shadow, as it were, a distorted shadow" (Memoir II, 68).

As they both held that God and the universe are one, so they held that the Soul and God are one. Tennyson said (Memoir I, 320): "The soul seems to me one with God, how I cannot tell," and Emerson writes ("The Over-Soul"): "Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul."

Perhaps the basic idea of transcendentalism is that of the inner voice, the voice of the spirit, which is more potent than all the voices of reason. Transcendentalism is summed up as a belief "that within the mind are certain intuitions of knowledge of the truth and right that 'transcend,' that is to say, go beyond, are independent of all experience," that "there is that in the soul of man which transcends what may come into the mind by the avenues of the senses." With this definition of transcendentalism before us and Tennyson's oftrepeated belief in the infallibility of the heart's feelings over the colder reason, we must place him beside Emerson as a transcendentalist (Memoir I, 314): "Yet God is love, transcendent, all-pervading. We do not get this faith from nature or the world. . . . We get this faith from ourselves, from what is highest within us." And Emerson, in "The Over-Soul," writes, "Let man, then, learn the revelation of all nature, and all thought to his heart; this namely: that the Highest dwells with him; that the sources of nature are in his own mind, if the sentiment of duty is there. But if he would know what the Great God speaketh he must go into the closet and shut 'the door' as Jesus said." And in "Spiritual Laws" he wrote: "There is a guidance for each of us, and by lowly listening we shall hear the right word." Tennyson puts into the mouth of the Ancient Sage essentially the same thought:

If thou would'st hear the Nameless and wilt dive Into the Temple-Cave of thine own self There brooding by the central altar, thou May'st haply learn the Nameless hath a voice By which thou wilt abide if thou be wise.

Compare also these passages (1) from "The Over-Soul," "The soul is the perceiver and revealer of Truth. We know Truth when we see it, let skeptic and scoffer say what they choose. Foolish people ask you when you have spoken what they do not wish to hear, 'How do you know it is the truth and not an error of your own?' We know truth when we see it from opinion as we know when we are awake that we are awake," and (2) from The Ancient Sage:

Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son, Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in, Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone, Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one:

For nothing worthy proving can be proven, Nor yet disproven.

Tennyson, again in In Memoriam (cxxiv):

That which we dare invoke to bless,
Our dearest faith; our ghastliest doubt;
He, They, One, All; within, without;
The Power in darkness whom we guess;

I found Him not in world or sun Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye; Nor thro' the questions men may try, The petty cobwebs we have spun;

If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep
I heard a voice "believe no more"
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in a Godless deep,

A warmth within the breast would melt The freezing reason's colder part And like a man in wrath the heart Stood up and answered "I have felt." Truth to Tennyson, as to Emerson, was a matter of intuition, of instinct, of the heart.

Tennyson has been compared with Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Milton, and there is, of course, a sympathy between him and these, perhaps, in some respects, a closer sympathy than between him and Emerson. But with regard to that speculative, religious philosophy, characterized by a certain vagueness, which has been called New England Transcendentalism, and which is found expressed in substance in the essay "The Over-Soul," Tennyson stands side by side with Emerson. It is not probable that any one could find that they influenced each other, but they did live in the same era, although in different countries, and came under the same influences of that wave of ideal philosophy which supplanted the materialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century. We find, therefore, that in these ideas they are at one, namely, in the absence of a definite or formal system of belief; in the pantheistic idea of the mysterious union of God with nature and the soul; in the doctrine of the universal soul; in their trust in the reality of spiritual insight.

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CERVANTES AND BOOKS OF CHIVALRY

In his prologue to the first part of Don Quixote (1605), Cervantes makes a friend say to the author: "En efecto; llevad la mira puesta á derribar la máquina mal fundada de estos caballerescos libros, aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más; que si esto alcanzásedes, no habríades alcanzado poco." In the final chapter of the second part (1615), Cervantes repeats his purpose in writing Don Quixote, and boasts of success: "pues no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de caballerías, que por las de mi verdadero don Quixote van ya tropezando,

y han de caer del todo, sin duda alguna." Historians of Spanish literature seem to agree with Cervantes that he achieved his purpose. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, to quote the latest writer on the matter, states in his Littérature Espagnole (1913, p. 285): "Il voulut détruire les mauvais livres de ce genre: il y réussit. Après que Don Quichotte eût paru, on écrivit¹ encore des romans de chevalerie, mais on ne les publia pas, et un seul—l'Espejo de Príncipes, y Cavalleros (1562–1581–1589) de Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra—fut réimprimé (1617–1623). Pourquoi cet arrêt subit? C'est que Cervantes donnait mieux que ce qu'il ôtait."

Such a conclusion presupposes that books of chivalry flourished until 1605 and that they then immediately ceased to be published. According to Ticknor, it was Faria y Sousa who first observed (1637) that in consequence of the publication of Don Quixote, books of chivalry "no son tan leídos." In a dedication to the novel printed in 1668, we are told that its previous repeated impressions "han desterrado los libros tan perjudicales á las costumbres." Clemencín, in his edition of 1833, stated that after 1605 "no se publicó de nuevo libro alguno de caballerías, y dejaron de reimprimirse los anteriores." Ticknor noted exceptions to this generalization—the Genealogía de la Toledana Discreta, 1608 (1604), and El Caballero del Febo, 1617 (1562), 1623 (1581). Ticknor's list ought to be added the following works, all of which would have found a place in Don Quixote's library of "caballerescos libros ":

Roberto el Diablo, 1607 (1509), 1627, 1628. La Doncella Theodor, 1607 (1530), 1642, 1676.

Oliveros y Artús, 1608? (1499).

Lope de Vega, Hermosura de Angélica, 1608 (1602).

Eslava, Noches de invierno ("novelas caballerescas"—Salvá), 1609.

La Crónica del Cid, 1610 (1498), 1616 (two editions), 1627 (two editions).

¹In the previous edition we read: "Après la publication de Don Quichotte, on n'écrivit plus de roman de chevalerie." Carlomagno, 1613 (1528), 1641, 1650.

Tablante de Ricamonte, 1614 (1513), 1629. Contreras, Selva de aventuras, 1615, two editions (1572).

Balbuena, El Bernardo, 1624.

Magalona, 1628 (1519), ca. 1690.

Roselauro y Francelisa, 1630 (MS.).

Paradoxical as it may seem, we may now consider another aspect of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's question: "Pourquoi cet arrêt subit?" Ticknor observed that the period of the passion for books of chivalry was eminently the sixteenth century. He might have been more precise: it had passed by the end of the eighties. Cervantes began to write Don Quixote after 1590. From 1590 to 1605, when the first part of his novel appeared, almost no books of chivalry were written or reprinted. The typical works -the Amadises, Esplandianes, Febos, Palmerines, Lisuartes, Florambelos, Esferamundos, to quote those mentioned by Lope de Vega as typical-were no longer in sufficient demand to justify new editions. The sole exceptions were a few reprints made at Lisbon. presses of Madrid, which by 1590 were taking the lead in the Peninsula, did not then, nor for that matter during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, publish a single work of this kind in prose. In attacking books of chivalry, Cervantes was attacking the tastes of a previous generation- his own generation. By 1605, it must be remembered, Cervantes was fifty-eight years of age. The new generation had the Comedia; it was no longer interested in books of chivalry, nor indeed in pastoral romances, which like the former had died a natural death. There were exceptions, it is true. As late as 1621, Lope de Vega says of a girl that she was "bachillera y hermosa, y picaua en leer libros de cauallerías y amores" (Las Fortunas de Diana, 69 vo.). But this aspect of the matter need not be dwelt upon here, and I conclude with a list of books of chivalry published in Spain, exclusive of Portugal, between 1590 and 1605.

Contreras, Selva de aventuras, 1590 (1572), 1591, 1592?, 1600?, 1603.

Pedro de Portugal, 1595 (1570).

Barellas, Los Condes de Barcelona, 1600.

Lope de Vega, La Hermosura de Angélica, 1602 (written in 1588), etc.

Magalona, 1602 (1519).

Policisne, 1602.

Crónica del Cid, 1604 (1498).

Oliveros y Artus, 1604 (1499).

Martínez, La Toledana discreta, 1604.

Tablante de Ricamonte, 1604 (1513).

Roberto el Diablo, 1604 (1509).

Only three of these were not reprinted after 1605!

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FURTHER NOTES ON CLASSIC LITERARY TRADITION

II

A favorite device employed to describe the effects of love is the use of oxymora, a mild example of which is furnished by Shakespeare, R. and J., I, 1: "O loving hate!-O heavy lightness! serious vanity!-Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!" That this practice was traditional, although the taste of the individual writer dictated, to a large extent, the choice of opposites, the following passages, representing the most extreme cases, will make clear:-Watson, Hecatomp., V, XII, XVIII, XL, the last an imitation of Petrarch, Son. CIV, which also served as the model for Wyatt, p. 9 (Aldine ed.), and for Baïf, Am. de Francine, p. 150 (ed. Marty-Laveaux); Lodge, Rosalynd, p. 48 (ed. Hazlitt), an amplification of Terence, Eun. 58 sq.; Constable, Diana, VI, 2; Lyly, Euphues, p. 107; id. Endimion, V, 2; Gallatea, I, 2; Sidney, A. and S., VI; Baif, l.c., p. 102, from Petrarch, Son., CII; Jodelle, Les Am., Son. XLII; Ronsard, Les Am., CLIII, CLXXVIII (cf. Petrarch, Son. CXXVIII); Tasso, Madr., CXIV, Attiviano, Poeti, II, p. 232; Roman de la Rose, 4911 sq. (ed. Michel), translated by Chaucer (?) R. of R., 4706 sq.; cf.

⁸ Cf. Ingraham, The Sources of Les Amours de J. A. Baïf, pp. 35-6.

id. T. and C., I, 400 sq., a translation of Petrarch, Son., CII; Chaucer, in turn, may have influenced the author of the Compleynt, 495 sq.; Chrétien, Yvain, 1404 sq., Cligès, 3007 sq., passages which seem to have been inspired by the Énéas, 7858 sq.; cf., Amadas et Ydoine, 291 sq. From the Provençal poets, cf. G. de Borneil (Bartsch, Chres. Prov. 1880, p. 103 l. 15 sq.); R. de Vaqueiras, Mahn, Werke d. Troub., I, p. 366. So there is a long line of these oxymora in the Carmina Burana, LX, 1 (ed. Schmeller).

Neither in the erotic poetry nor in the romance of the ancients do we find the long series of oxymora which occur in later literature, although many of the most popular antithetic pairs occur frequently; ⁷ e. g., the bitter-sweet, sweet madness, sweet pain, sweet captivity, cold fire, sweet death, dear wounds, soothing flames, gentle war, ⁸ etc. In the comedies of Plautus and Terence, however, we do find examples of the multiplication of oxymora comparable, to a certain extent, to the examples cited above; cf. Plaut. Cist., 68 sq.; Pseud., 63 sq.; Ter. Eun., 58 sq. We may safely conclude, I think, that ⁴ e Latin poets adopted this method of describing love from their

⁶ Ed. Schick, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. LX.

7 A convenient list from the Latin elegiac poets is given by Pichon, Sermo Amatorius, p. 28; cf. Hor., O. I., 27, 11; IV, 1, 4; I, 33, 14; for the bittersweet, cf. Otto, Die Sprichwörter d. Römer, pp. 217-8, 133. On the Greek side the Anthology furnishes the largest number of examples; cf. XII, 126, "dear wounds"; XII, 132, cold fire (a common conceit; cf. Mod. Lang. N., XXVII, 1912, p. 68); XII, 99, sweet pain; V, 134, XII, 109, 153, bitter sweet, XII, 167, sweet tears; (so Meleager, XII, 167 calls Love the "Sender of sweet tears"); cf. Musaeus, 166, for sweet fire, and note the examples in Moschus, Id. I, the famous Run-a-Way Love. That such antitheses were a part of the rhetorician's stock in trade we may conclude from their appearance in the "love letters" of Aristaenetus, cf. II, 5, sweet fire, bitter sweet, and of Theophylactus, cf. LXXXIV, sweet tears, sweet pain, and in Libanius, cf. p. 1069 (Reiske), sweet grief, sweet pain. The list could easily be increased.

⁸ Cf. Ov. A. A. II, 236, mollia castra, and for this conceit in the Middle Ages, cf. Meyer, *Romania*, IV, 1875, p. 382.

models, the writers of the New Comedy, and we are able to form some idea of their practice in this matter from a fragment of a play by one of them, the Phaedros of Alexis. Here we are told that Love is neither male nor female. god nor man, neither foolish nor wise, but a mixture of all of these; that he has the courage of man, the cowardice of woman, the madness of a fool, the wisdom of a philosopher, the violence of a wild beast, the hardness of flint. One wonders whether Euripides, who furnished much to the New Comedy, and who was very fond of oxymora, did not supply it with a good deal of this material. It is significant, at least, that he employs them in connection with love in his Hipp. 525 sq.; cf. frag. 26; so, however, does Sophocles, cf. frag.10 inc. 856. The most famous antithesis of all, moreover, the bittersweet, goes back as far, at least, as Sappho, frag. 40 (Bergk); cf. Theog. 1353.

This antithesis gave rise in the Latin to a play on words which became proverbial; cf. Plaut., Trin. 260: amor amara dat; id. Cist. 68: Eho, an amare occipere amarumst? Verg., Ecl. III, 109: Quisquis amores / haud 11 metuet dulcis, haud experietur amaros. Even St. Augustine could not forbear, and in his Confessions, IV, 12, 18, he writes: Bonum quod amatis, ab illo (sc. Deo) est; sed quantum est ad illum, bonum est et suave; sed amarum erit iuste, quia iniuste amatur deserto illo, quidquid ab illo est. The early French and the Italian poets were able to reproduce the pun, if so it may be called; cf. Amadas et Ydoine, 295: "D'amer est mervilleuse cose! -Car de chose amere fait miel / Et de douceur fait savoir fiel;" Froissart, Ballades Amour., XXX, 16: "Fis me tienc qu'en bien amer / On n'i troeve rien d'amer;" Meo Abbracciavacca (Poeti, II, p. 21): "amore amaro;" Noffo Bonaguida (ib. 2, p. 262): "Che dolce e dilettoso / Incominciai l'amor, ch'è tanto amaro / Mi sembre il cor suo savor venenoso;" Chiaro

Quoted by Athen. XIII, 562; cf. Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Frag., II, p. 387.

¹⁰ Eurip. Aeolos, Nauck, Tragicorum Graec. Fragmenta, p. 295; Soph., Id., p. 263.

[&]quot;Ed. Hirtzel. The uncertainty in the reading affects only haud.

Davanzati, 12 III, p. 50: "Amore amaro dico." It was made famous by Mantuanus, Ecl. I, 52: "nec deus (ut perhibent) amor est sed amaror;" cf. Mustard's Introduction to his edition of Mantuanus, pp. 41, 46, for quotations of this line. Note, too, the Italian proverb (Giusti, l. c. p. 42): "Amore non è senza amaro."

To express fittingly this "dulcis amarities" of love (Catul. LXVIII, 18), the speakers of Latin had at hand another convenient jingle, mel—fel. Cf. Plaut. Cist. 69: amor et melle et fellest fecundissumus. / Gustui dat dulce: amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit; cf. id. Poen. 394. Whether the Greeks were responsible for this antithesis it is impossible to say; it occurs, it may be noted, in connection with love in Moschus, Id., I, 9: "Like honey is Love's voice, but within is gall," 13 and among the Anacreontics, 14 fr. 27 A, the manufacture of Cupid's weapons: "The barbs Venus tempered, using the honey sweet, but Cupid mixed in gall." 15 This pair occurs, too, in an epi-

¹² Ed. D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Le Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1886.

¹³ Cf. Plaut., Truc. 178: In melle sunt linguae sitae vostrae atque orationes, / Facta atque corda in felle sunt sita atque acerbo aceto. This application of the conceit is common; cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, l. c.; for early English poetry, cf. Sieper's note on Lydgate, Reson and Sensuallyte, 3363. (Early English Texts, Extra Series, LXXXIV.) We find it also in early German poetry; cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. Pfeiffer, p. 249, 5: "den diu zunge honeget und daz herze gallen hät." Cf. the proverb, Honig im Munde, Galle im Herzen, Simrock, Die Deutschen Sprichwörter, p. 260.

14 Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graecii, III, p. 313.

¹⁵ These 'honey-dipped' arrows are mentioned in Claudian. Carm. Min. XXV, 142 (ed. Koch): puroque inbutis melle sagittis / hic nuptam petit, ille virum. In this same poem, vs. 10 sq., there is a description of the garden of the Loves, which the poet describes more at length in his Epithal. de Nupt. Hon. Aug., 50 sq.; in this garden there are two fountains, hic dulcis, amarus / alter, et infusis corrumpunt mella venenis. Such passages, which are derived ultimately from Theocr., Id. XV, 120-2, furnished the material for the numerous gardens of Love which appear in the poetry of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It may be noted that the two fountains occur in Poliziano, Puccianti, Antologia, p. 190.

gram in Anthol. Planudea XVI, author unknown, who quotes it as a proverb, not, however, applying it to love: Παν τὸ περιττόν, ἄκαιρον ἐπεὶ λόγος ἐστὶ παλαιός, ὡς καὶ μελιτος τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ χολή.

This antithesis, curiously enough, was apparently not deemed worthy of acceptance by the poets of the Augustan Age, probably because it was 'slang,' but it lived on, nevertheless, its preservation aided, beyond a doubt, by the very jingle. Hence its appearance in the Carm. Bur., LX, 1: amor melle dulcior / felle fit amarior, and in Old French poetry; cf. Énéas, 8220: "El cors m'as mis une amertume / Peior que suie ne que fiel: / Amors, redone mei del miel;" Chrétien, Yvain, 1404, the lover "destranpre suie de miel / et mesle cucre avoeques fiel;" Amadas et Ydoine, 295, quoted above, p. 244. I have noticed no example in the Italian poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor in Petrarch, although in Son. CLXXIX, he contrasts honey and wormwood: "E non so che negli occhi, che 'n un punto / Può far chiara la notte, oscuro il giorno, / E 'l mel' amaro, ed addolcir l'assenzio" (cf. Ronsard, Les Am., CLIX: "Et d'un tel miel mon absynthe est si pleine, / Qu'autant me plaist le plaisir que la peine."). In Poliziano, however, the honey-gall conceit re-appears, Rime Varie, IV, 185: "Amor gl'insegna le sue voglie amare / Parer piene di mèle, / E son colme di fèle." Of the French sonnetteers it will suffice to cite Ronsard, Les Am., X: "Si le fiel n'amoderoit un peu / Le doux du miel dont mon coeur est repeu-dieu je ne voudrois estre;" cf. XLIX, CXIX, CLXXVIII.

In early English poetry sugar (cf. Chrétien, cited above) is generally substituted for honey; cf. Lydgate, Res. and Sens., 3367: "The sugre of hir (sc. Venus) drynkes all / At the ende ys meynt with gall;" cf. 3402; 4047; Temple of Glas, 403; 192; the notes of Sieper and Schick on these passages supply many other references. In R. and S., 3402, Lydgate combines aloes and gall: "But hir (sc. Venus) confecciouns alle / With alloes and bitter galle / Ben ymaked." This expression seems to come from Juv. VI, 181, who says of a wife: plus aloes

quam mellis habet. Barcley, Ecl. ii, employs honey-gall: "I see the pleasure of touching is but small, / I thought it honey, I see nowe it is gall;" from this time on examples are numerous; cf. Watson, Hecatomp., XII: "O bitter-sweet, or hunny mixt with gall;" id. XCI; Lyly, Euphues, p. 107: "He shall tast tenne quarters of sorrow in his love, then shall he finde for every pynte of hunny a gallon 16 of gall;" cf. id. p. 61: Endimion, V, 2, where, among the dishes of delight which Love serves to Sir Tophas, are included, "a hen of hunny, a goose of gall." In view, therefore, of the frequency of this conceit, it is unnecessary to suppose 17 that Spenser, F. Q., IV, 10, 1, "For every dram of hony therein (i. e., in love) found / A pound of gall doth over it redound," was imitating the passage which he had written earlier as the Emblem to the March Eclogue, "Of hony and of gaule in love there is store, / The hony is much, but the gaule is more," and that the source of this was Plautus, Cist., 69-70, quoted above, p. 245. If Spenser had any definite passage in mind when writing the former passage, it was that from the Euphues just quoted; as a source for the Emblem, why would not the Greek epigram from the Anthology, or the words of Juvenal or of Lyly, who agree, at least, that there is more bitterness in the mixture than sweet, serve just as well as Plautus? To search for a definite source for a conceit of this nature, which was common property for over a thousand years, is indeed a difficult task. The wonder is, not that poets employed these conceits, but that they ever abstained from using them.

One must admit, moreover, that there is the same element of uncertainty in the conclusion which I stated at the outset of this paper, that the presence of these conceits in modern literature is due to the vitality of classical tradition. For these conceits are, for the most part, of such a nature that they may have suggested

themselves to any poet writing about love. It is an interesting fact, however, that when we turn to early German poetry, the conceits which I have here discussed do not appear except in poetry which, we are sure, was influenced directly or indirectly by this tradition. They appear, as we have seen, in the Carmina Burana,-poems in which the erotic element, however much else may be ascribed to purely German folk-poetry,18 is largely due to inheritance from the classics. Nowhere, however, have I come across an example of the comparison of love to a flame smouldering beneath ashes. Nor is there any German proverb, in spite of the many proverbs concerning fire and ashes, which compares to that which the modern Italians have clearly inherited from their Latin forebears. This fact, therefore, in regard to this conceit, at least, would seem to support my conclusion. The antithesis honey-gall, on the other hand, since it is applied in a proverb (cited above, p. 245) to words versus deeds, may 19 have arisen independently. Its application to love, however, omitting the Carmina Burana, occurs first in Hartmann von Aue; cf. Iwein, 1572 sq., in a passage corresponding closely to his source, Chrétien, Yvain, 1398 sq. The passages deal with the nature of love and the lines 20 chiefly concerned are, Chrétien, "Car mervoille est, comant ele (sc. Amors) ose / De honte an malves leu descendre : / Celui sanble, qui an la cendre / Et an la poudre espant son basme / Et het enor et aimme blasme / Et destranpre suie de miel / Et mesle cucre avoeques fiel:" Hartmann, "daz si (sc. Minne) ie sô diemüete wart / daz sî iht bæses ruochet / und sô swache stat suochet, / diu ir von rehte wære / smæhe unde unmære!

¹⁸ We may be sure of very little, as I have tried to show in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII. In regard to love, I have noticed almost no conceit which may not be paralleled in Latin or Greek poetry, or in poetry directly influenced by classical tradition.

¹⁰ I say "may," for here again all that is said in early German literature about gall may be paralleled by passages from ancient literature or from the literature of the church.

²⁰ I cite Chrétien from the edition of Holland, Hartmann from that of Bech, v. VI of Pfeiffer's Deutsche Klassiker d. Mittelalters.

¹⁸ For the idea, cf. Chaucer, *T. and C.*, 3, 1025: "And wolde a busshel venim al excusen, / For that o greyn of love is on it (sc. jalousye) shove."

¹⁷ Cf. Graham, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 212.

/ si ist mit ir süeze / vil dicke under vüeze / der Schanden gevallen, / als der zuo der gallen / sin süezez honec giuzet / und der balsem vliuzet / in die aschen von des mannes hant." Therefore, if these comparisons were current among the German folk, there is no evidence that they were applied to love until Hartmann came under the influence of Chrétien and classical tradition. In another poem, Gregorius, 285, Hartmann applies the antithesis to the love of the incestuous parents of Gregorius: "An disem ungewinne / erzeiget' ouch vrou Minne / ir swæré gewonheit: / sî machet ie nâch liebe leit. / alsam was in gevallen / daz honic zuo der gallen." This poem is also a translation from the French, La Vie de Saint Grégoire, but how closely Hartmann is following his source in this passage I am unable to state as I have not had access to the French text.

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QUESTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP

The Shepherdess of the Alps: a comic opera in three acts. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. London: Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46 Fleet-Street, 1780.

In Hazlitt's Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft (p. 86) it is stated that Holcroft wrote the "after-piece" The Shepherdess of the Alps; and we are informed in the notes to the Waller-Glover edition of 1902 that this was acted at Covent Garden, 18 January, 1780. This play, The Shepherdess of the Alps, acted on this date, has been continually attributed to Charles Dibdin the musical composer (1745-1814), in 1800 by the Thespian Dictionary, in 1812 by the Biographia Dramatica, and in 1832 by Genest, History of the English Stage. Yet there is a letter from Holcroft to Mrs. Sheridan, mentioning such a piece by name, begging production, and saying he had "spent all the summer about it." On the other hand, the Thespian Dictionary gives The Shepherdess of

the Alps to Dibdin and says that it was The Crisis of Holcroft, which gained representation through Mrs. Sheridan. And then, too, Mr. E. Rimebault Dibdin includes The Shepherdess of the Alps in his bibliography of his great-grandfather (Notes and Queries, ser. 9, vol. 8, p. 279), and indicates that two songs from this opera were republished in The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin (Sheffield, 1787. Songs No. 9 and 14), a collection of Dibdin's work which appeared during the life-time of Mr. Holcroft (Notes and Queries, ser. 9, vol. 10, p. 125); also in the Collected Songs of 1790. In Dibdin's Professional Life, 1803 (2:54-62), he refers to the piece in terms which suggest that he was the author. The first-hand evidence in the Memoirs, which have proved very trustworthy in other details, is not, however, so quickly to be cast aside.

We have found indications that the idea of the work came from the French (British Museum Catalogue and Westminster Magazine, Jan., 1780). It is probable, therefore, that Holcroft did do the piece, but that Dibdin likewise prepared a translation and, being then a more prominent and influential figure, got his on the stage first. This was a fate to which Holcroft was obliged to submit in the case of Goldoni's La Buona Figliuola and of Kotzebue's Indian in England, and which he later, by his own industry, forced upon Pye and Andrews with their rendering of The Inquisitor, and upon Benjamin Thompson and Mrs. Inchbald with their renderings of Deaf and Dumb.1 The seeming contradiction which we have found, appears, then, not to be one, but to be rather an indication of another work; and it is the applicability of the note in the Waller-Glover edition, probably based on the error of Mr. G. F. Russell Barker in the Dictionary of National Biography, and not the veracity of Mr. Holcroft which we must question.

¹I communicated some of these facts to Mr. E. R. Dibdin and he seems since to have agreed with me on the subject. (Notes and Queries, ser. 11, vol. 8, p. 68.) I also find that the Westminster Magazine, Jan., 1780, speaks of Dibdin as the author; and the European Magazine in 1792 (22:403) does not include it in its list of Holcroft's works, and some years later (55:177) gives it as Dibdin's.

The German Hotel; a comedy, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row, M.DCC.XC.

Halkett and Laing's Dictionary gives this work to "Marshall," and Cushing's Dictionary records "- Marshall" as one of the pseudonyms of Thomas Holcroft. Oulton's History of the Theatres of London, appearing only six years later than the date of publication (1796). ascribes this piece, acted at Covent Garden, 11 November, 1790, to Mr. Marshall "as reported"; the Thespian Dictionary in 1800 did not ascribe it, the Biographia Dramatica in 1812 (2:263) gives it to "- Marshall"; Oxberry's New English Drama in 1819 gives it in a list of plays ascribed to Holcroft with the parenthetical note: "Under the name of Marshall"; but Genest, in 1832, says it was "probably written by Mr. Holcroft." Here we have the earliest direct indication of Holcroft's authorship forty-two years after the representation and publication, except for the not very certain ascription to be found in the Waller-Glover edition of the Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft (p. 116), "a friend undertook for a time to father the piece." There is a Mr. Marshall mentioned elsewhere (p. 181), in the Memoirs; and in Kegan Paul's book we find Mr. Joseph Marshall intimate with Holcroft and Godwin. In the preface to The School for Arrogance (1791) Holcroft tells us that Mr. Marshall, "in consequence of the prejudices which it was imagined Mr. Harris laboured under, . . . acted for a time . . . as the author of the piece." The preface to Seduction (1787) gives the details of Holcroft's differences with Mr. Harris of the Covent Garden Theatre, though Duplicity (1781) was dedicated to Mr. Harris and though several other prefaces complimented him.

Indication of another possible cause for this anonymity is to be found in the preface to Knave or Not? (1798):

"The unrelenting opposition which the productions of the author of the present comedy have experienced for several years is well known to those who pay attention to the public amusements. . . . Since the appearance of *The*

Road to Ruin, his comedy of The Deserted Daughter only has escaped; and that, as he imagines, because it was not known on the night of its first performance by whom it was written. Love's Frailties, The Man of Ten Thousand, and Knave or Not? have sustained marks of hostility."

Holcroft also referred to this unfriendly attitude of the public in his Advertisement to The Vindictive Man, 2d ed. 1807. The disapprobation of Love's Frailties, as indicated in its Advertisement, was due to "the heat of political zeal,"—Oulton (2:176) in 1796 says of the Deserted Daughter (1795): "The piece was supposed to be written by Mrs. Inchbald; the author, for political reasons, having deemed secrecy expedient;" He's Much to Blame (1798) was, according to the Memoirs (pp. 162-163), "brought out in the name of a friend;" and Deaf and Dumb (1801) was brought forward under the name of "Herbert Hill" (see Oxberry's edition).

From conditions surrounding production of these other plays we learn that Holcroft afterwards was accustomed to have his works go to the theatre, anonymously or pseudonymously, and often to the press without his name. Also, we learn that the very next year after the appearance of *The German Hotel* he employed the same Mr. Marshall as sponsor for another play. His reasons for doing this were probably not the same as in the case of the later dramas, political reasons, because in 1790 he was not yet a prominent political radical, and because the play contained practically no political dynamite.

Before we decide, however, with absolute certainty it is well to examine Holcroft's means of access to the original German, Der Gasthof, of J. C. Brandes of which this is an adaptation. It is well known that, prior to 1800, knowledge of German was very exceptional in England. Holcroft traveled in Germany in 1799, and shortly before he made the trip he translated Kotzebue's Indian in England. Hazlitt records, in his paper "On the Conversation of Authors," an assertion by Holcroft of having read Kant's Critique of Pure Reason in the original, but this may have been, probably was,

subsequent to Holcroft's visit to Hamburg in 1799. The German Hotel came many years earlier and we must go further back. Holcroft was very intimately acquainted with a young Frenchman by the name of de Bonneville. From 1782 to 1785, MM. Friedel and de Bonneville issued the Nouveau Théâtre Allemand at Paris. Our suspicions are immediately aroused when Holcroft says in the Preface to Love's Frailties, 1794, that his play came from Baron von Gemmingen's Der Deutsche Hausvater, but adds that those "who cannot read German, may find a French translation of that piece in volume VI of a work entitled Nouveau Théâtre Allemand." He's Much to Blame, 1798, is stated to owe something to the Clavigo of Goethe, and this had been put into French by M. Friedel in 1784. Two German works, Lavater's Physiognomy and Trenck's Memoirs, both appeared in French before Holcroft "Translated" them. The great notoriety of Caron de Beaumarchais, whose le Mariage de Figaro was played that year, and of whom the Clavigo was written, would seem to indicate that the French translation was probably brought to Holcroft's attention during his short journey to Paris in 1784. The Nouveau Théâtre Allemand is expressly given as the source of Holcroft's "translation" of The Affectionate Son, from the German of J. J. Engel, and of the Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the German Stage, both appearing in the Theatrical Recorder, 1805, as well as of The Inquisitor, 1798. Then we turn over a few pages and find a version of Brandes' Der Gasthof in the sixth volume of the same Nouveau Théâtre Allemand. Thus, Holcroft did not know German; but he did not have to know German to secure the Brandes play for "translation." So, when we find a source of The German Hotel included in a book on which he drew so continually for material, and when we see him making use of anonymous authorship at other times, even utilizing the services of this same Mr. Marshall as a dummy, we must, it seems, attribute The German Hotel unquestionably to Thomas Holcroft.

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DIE BESTATTUNG SIEGFRIEDS IN HEBBELS NIBELUNGEN

Der in Hebbels Nibelungen (Siegfrieds Tod, Akt V, Szene 9) bei der Bestattung Siegfrieds stattfindende Dialog zwischen dem Kaplan, der sich mit anderen Priestern vor einer eisernen Tür innerhalb des Doms aufgestellt hat, und einer Stimme von draussen, die für den Verstorbenen Einlass begehrt, ist der Bestattungszeremonie der Kaiser von Österreich, die Dr. Frankl Hebbel mitgeteilt und die dieser sich in seinem Tagebuche wörtlich aufgezeichnet hat, nachgebildet.1 Diese Zeremonie hat ihren Ursprung in der Antiphonie "Tollite portas," die aus den Schlussversen des 24. Psalms besteht und zuerst bei der dedicatio ecclesiaeihre biblische Vorlage soll für die Einführung der Bundeslade in Zion verfasst worden sein-, dann am Palmsonntag in Verbindung mit der Darstellung des Einzugs Christi in Jerusalem, nachher in der Auferstehungsfeier am Ostersonntag bei der visitatio Sepulchri und endlich in der Osternacht bei der Vorführung der Höllenfahrt Christi gesungen wurde.2 In allen diesen Fällen dient dieser Wechselgesang als ein Begehr um Einlass, allerdings an verschiedene Personen gerichtet und verschiedenen Zwecken dienend. Bei der Kirchweihe wird der Teufel aufgefordert, den für ein Gotteshaus bestimmten Ort zu räumen. Die Kirche ist die einzige Stätte auf Erden, die der Fürst dieser Welt (Joh. 12, 31; 14, 30; vgl. auch Eph. 2, 2; 6, 12) nicht sein eigen nennen darf. Sie ist die Oasis in der Wüste der Sünde und des Elends und bildet den einzigen Schutz gegen Satan (Matth. 16, 18).3 Am Palmsonntag symbolisiert die Kirche den Himmel, von dem

¹ Siehe Hebbel, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch- kritische Ausg., II. Abtlg., Tagebücher, IV, Bd., S. 50. Nr. 5367; vgl. auch Hebbel, Werke, hrsg. v. K. Zeiss, Bibliographisches Institut, III. Bd., S. 154 Anm.

³ Vgl. meine Schrift: Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters, Göttingen

und Baltimore, 1914, S. 21.

Siehe den Paragraphen "Der Teufel und die Kirche" im 2. Teil meiner Monographie Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters, Hesperia 6, Göttingen und Baltimore, 1915, S. 142.

sich der Teufel auch zurückziehen muss.4 An dem Tage, da Christus seinen Einzug in Jerusalem hielt, ziehen seine Bekenner nach der Überwindung und Verbannung Satans in den Himmel, das neue Jerusalem, ein. Bei der Auferstehungsfeier denkt man sich unter der Person, an welche die Aufforderung um Einlass gerichtet wird, nicht den Teufel, und die Kirche ist nicht mehr eine Stätte, die dieser Fürst dieser Erde erst räumen muss. In dieser Zeremonie richtet ein Geistlicher, der sich mit dem ganzen Klerus an der Aussenseite der Haupteingangstür der Kirche aufgestellt hat, die Worte "Attollite portas" an die zwei Engel darstellenden und in der Kirche zurückgebliebenen Diakonen. Er verlangt Eintritt, damit auch er und sein Gefolge sich durch das darin aufgestellte leere Grab von der Auferstehung des Heilandes überzeugen können. Bei der Höllenfahrt dienen die Worte "Attollite portas" in Munde Christi und der ihn begleitenden Engel als Aufforderung an den Teufel, das verriegelte Höllentor zu öffnen, damit der Erlöser der Menschheit die Altväter aus der Finsternis der Hölle befreien könne. Kirchenportal stellt also in dieser Szene das Höllentor dar, während am Palmsonntag die Kirche den Himmel vorstellt. An diese Palmsonntagszeremonie schliesst sich also die Bestattungsfeier der gekrönten Häupter Österreichs an, aber hier stellt der Priester nicht etwa den Teufel, der die Schlüssel des Abgrundes hat, vor, sondern den Pförtner des Himmels, der nur dem öffnet, der sich ihm in Demut nähert. "Seine Majestät, der Allerdurchlauchtigste," "Der Kaiser von Österreich" wird nicht hereingelassen, wohl aber "Unser Bruder Franz." "Ein König aus den

*Der Exlichtträger Gottes scheint durch seine Sünde und Fall noch nicht alle Macht im Himmel eingebüsst zu haben. Die Gegenwart des Teufels im Himmel bezeugen Stellen aus der heiligen Schrift wie Hiob 1, 6ff., 2, 1ff. und Eph. 6, 12, wo die beste deutsche Übertragung der Vulgata "Geister der Bosheit im Lufthimmel" ist; siehe J. H. Oswald, Angelologie, S. 114. Weizsäcker gibt den griechischen Text τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις "Geisterwesen der Bosheit in der Himmelswelt" wieder.

Niederlanden, mit so viel Kronen, als er Finger hat," "Ein Held der Erde, mit so viel Trophäen, als er Zähne hat" findet keinen Einlass in die Friedensstätte. Die Tore des ewigen Friedens stehen aber offen dem demütigen, sich seiner Sünden bewussten "Bruder Siegfried, mit so viel Sünden, als er Haare hat."

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RECENT EDITIONS OF DANTE'S VITA NUOVA

Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri, ad uso delle scuole, con annotazioni di Francesco Flamini. Vol. I: La Vita Nuova; Il Convivio (excerpta). Livorno: Giusti, 1910.

La Vita Nuova di Dante, per cura di MICHELE SCHERILLO. Milano: Hoepli, 1911.

GIOVANNI FEDERZONI, La Vita Nuova di Dante Allighieri commentata per le scuole e per gli studiosi. Illustrata con note e giudizi di GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI. Bologna: Zanichelli, [1910].

Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri con proemio, note e appendice di G. A. CESAREO. Messina: Principato, 1914.

Although the ideal edition of the Vita Nuova may not exist, and indeed there could scarcely be an ideal one for all purposes, nevertheless there is no lack of editions produced by many of the most competent Italian scholars. Some teachers in this country still use those of Fraticelli (1839, often reprinted), Witte (1876), D'Ancona (1872, 1884), Casini (1885, 1891; "nuova tiratura," without change, 1913), Passerini (1900) and Canevazzi (1900). In 1896 F. Beck published his critical text, which reappears in the "Bibliotheca Romanica" (No. 40, 1907). Moore's Tutte le opere di D. A. (Oxford, 1894, 1897, 1904) uses Witte's text. The notes of Melodia's edition (1905) are extremely useful for an investigator, but for

college students they are so voluminous as to be unwieldy. The appearance in 1907 of Barbi's critical text marks an epoch in the study of the Vita Nuova; it has been reprinted, with an admirable French translation, by H. Cochin (Paris, 1908), and (with a few changes, some of them suggested by Barbi himself) in the school-editions of Flamini and Scherillo. The present article is intended primarily to give an account of these two editions, together with that published about the same time by Federzoni and the one which appeared late in 1913, with introduction and commentary by Cesareo. All four of these commentators are already well known for important publications concerning Dante. While intended for the same general purpose, the editions are distinctive and individual. All are welcome, since in addition to popularizing the results of Barbi's text-researches, they bring the interpretation of Dante's little book up to date, and contribute a large amount of new material. All are sold at a very moderate price (lire 2 or 2.50), and are suitable for American classes.

The Scherillo edition commends itself first of all by unusually large, clear type, which is a delight to the eye. It has also been issued, unchanged in substance, in de luxe form, with a new title-page, broad margins, ornamental borders, and illustrations; it has likewise been translated, notes and text, into Spanish.1 The introduction was originally a public lecture, and has the characteristics of one. It is extremely interesting, and really introduces. Then follow a note explaining the editor's method, and a Bibliografia minima of 7 pages. After the text come four Illustrazioni e Discussioni, which had already been separately printed elsewhere: the name of Beatrice (she was Bice Portinari); the first vision described by Dante; the propria girazione of the sun (contributed by F. Angelitti); and the forma architettonica della V. N., of which more presently. The most striking feature of the footnotes is the extraordinary number of citations from Dante and other writers,-chiefly Italian and Provençal poets, but also French, Latin, etc. The editor has preferred to interpret the text by quoting significant parallels, rather than by giving explanations or definitions in his own words; and consequently he has left a considerable number of difficult passages without elucidation. The accumulation of citations, even if in some cases their relation to the matter in hand is somewhat remote, is a distinct and notable contribution to the study of the Vita Nuova. It is fortunate that a scholar so widely read in Provençal poetry has had the happy idea of composing this kind of commentary. Scherillo also gives the significant variants from other editions, and quotes freely from the English, French and German translations.

All the editors whom we are considering are inclined to avoid discussion on disputed points, of which there are so many in the Vita Nuova, and to state their opinions without qualification. Now it is scarcely possible that any two persons, after devoting long and careful study to this puzzling and fascinating book, will agree in every detail of their interpretation; certainly these editors differ widely, and no one of them can be accused of having reached his conclusions without adequate preparation. To the present critic, the views of Scherillowith one important exception-and his interpretation of the book as a whole seem in general the most acceptable; they will be received as authoritative by scholars who believe that the lyrics and the narrative of the Vita Nuova are founded on fact. His statements show both insight and common sense. He does not depart from accepted interpretations for the sake of saying something new. By means of quotations he relates the Vita Nuova to Dante's other works; yet he studies the book for its own sake, as a literary monument of intrinsic interest which represents Dante's point of view at a definite period of his life.

Flamini, on the other hand, as he says in his preface, treats the *Vita Nuova* as an introduction to the *Divina Commedia*. He gives no introductory essay, other than the preface in

¹ Dante Alighieri, La Vida Nueva, traducida por L. C. Viada y Lluch. Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1912; see Bulletin Italien, XIII, 81; Bullettino della Soc. Dant. Ital., XX, 104-12.

which the aims of the edition are stated; no biographical information, except in the notes when such information is necessary for the understanding of the text. The notes are largely explanatory, with exposition of Flamini's views rather than discussion; they are full of information and clear in statement. To grasp their entire significance, the student should be familiar with the discussion in Flamini's valuable Introduction to the study of the Divine Comedy (Josselyn's translation, Boston, 1910) or his larger work, I Significati reconditi della Commedia di Dante (Livorno, 1903-4). This edition, intended as a text-book for schools, is distinguished by the inclusion of generous excerpts from the Convivio,—sixteen chapters of that difficult work being given complete, and the rest in abbreviated form (not summarized, but brought within compass by omissions); about 125 pages are devoted to this part of the book, against 100 containing the Vita Nuova. Here also there are useful foot-notes, and the selections are made with a view to illustrating Dante's other works. A second volume of the Opere minori is promised by the same editor, to contain lyric poems (including the three canzoni of the Convivio, omitted here) and selections from the Latin works.

Beatrice is to Flamini, as is well known, a symbol of Revealed Truth; "but not on this account should we deny the historical reality of 'Monna Bice,' loved by the young Alighieri and exalted in the Vita Nova" [Introduction to the study of the D. C., p. 2]. As to her being the daughter of Folco Portinari, he does not commit himself (cf. note on V. N., xxii). That Federzoni is one of the most convinced "realists" may be inferred from the fact that he has published La Vita di Beatrice Portinari (Bologna, 1904); but he also holds some individual views as to the construction and interpretation of the Vita Nuova, and as to the evolution of Beatrice as a symbol of Religious Faith. His edition opens with the briefest preface, and a note on the structure of the Vita Nuova. His notes, intended for schools, set forth his views in the form of a running commentary, together with explanation of obscure

passages. Many of them contain quotations, not previously printed, from lectures delivered in 1870-71 at the University of Bologna by Carducci; these quotations are often interesting, but as they represent the opinions of their day, their interest is largely sentimental. Federzoni's is the only one of the four editions which does not use Barbi's text, but prefers the volgata. The differences are of course not great, but it is an unfortunate mistake to use an inferior text when a better one is available. Thus in the proemio, Federzoni reads assemprare, and notes that it means esemplare, Barbi's reading being asemplare; and in the first canzone Federzoni has Voi le vedete Amor pinto nel riso (Barbi, Casini, etc., viso). Federzoni is also the only one of the four who does not follow Barbi's numbering of the sections: like Casini, Melodia, and Witte, he gives no number to the proemio, but divides Barbi's § iii into two; thus his numbering corresponds only from § iv on.2

Cesareo's edition, like all his work, is brilliant and interesting, but unequal. As in Scherillo's, the text is preceded by a long introduction and followed by an appendix; most of this material had already appeared elsewhere, a large part of it in the Zeitschrift f. R. P., Vol. XXX (1906), although this fact is not stated. The last part of the introduction repeats statements made in the first part, and there is no good reason for separating the nota polemica and the two appendices from the introduction, since all discuss the same matter, -the general principles which should be followed in interpreting the Vita Nuova, particularly in regard to Beatrice. The editor's intention is to put the reader ("la presente edizione è in servigio delle persone colte") in possession of such preliminary information

^{*}Moore's numbering agrees with Barbi's to § xxvi, which he divides into two, the following sections being accordingly numbered one higher; this difference is particularly unfortunate since Prof. Sheldon's Concordanza is based on Moore's text. Witte agrees with Moore in dividing § xxvi, while Casini, Melodia and Federzoni here agree with Barbi. Thus the numbering of all these editions agrees for §§ iv-xxv only.

that he can then read the text itself without distractions. The very brief and often elementary foot-notes are designed with the same purpose; in them the difficult words are explained and the Latin phrases are translated, most of the information being repeated in a glossario and an indice dei passi latini at the end of the book. The character of the notes makes this edition particularly suitable for foreign students, who will also be attracted by the clear type and general neatness of the book. Some of the notes are open to question (e. g., § iii: "veduto per me medesimo = imparato da me"), and some of them, curiously enough, contradict statements in the introduction. It is evident, then, that space is wasted by repetition, and that the organic unity of the work is far from perfect; furthermore, some of the difficulties of the text are left unexplained (e. g., nothing is said about the meaning of nova in § i). Little effort is made to show the influence of other medieval writings, few quotations being given from other works. But in spite of all its drawbacks, many of which can easily be remedied if the editor wishes, the edition is distinctly valuable as an original contribution to the study of Dante, and is also available for practical use with classes. It is announced as the first volume of a Nuova Biblioteca Italiana under the direction of Prof. Cesareo, and future volumes will be eagerly awaited.

If the notes in this edition are intended for beginners, the introduction on the other hand is certainly over their heads, since it presupposes not only familiarity with the Vita Nuova itself, but to some extent with the critical literature on the subject. Cesareo's view, in brief, makes of the Vita Nuova "the romance of mystical love,"-a purely fictitious narrative in so far as the events are concerned, and "real" only in its account of "the gradual ascent of the poet's soul toward an ideal of love always growing higher, whose light encloses the miraculous creature called by the poet Beatrice." He believes that Beatrice really existed, and that a few of the poems were written for her; most of them, however,

particularly the three canzoni, were written simultaneously with the prose, at some time later than 1296.3 Dante's plan is, then, to set forth "la progressiva rivelazione dell'angelo nella sua donna . . . e la graduale attuazione dell'intelletto possibile . . . sotto l'influsso della gentilissima." We have here, evidently, a development of the "idealistic" interpretation of the Vita Nuova as expounded by Bartoli, Renier,4 and others; but one which does not necessarily exclude a belief in the reality of Dante's narrative. Indeed, the realistic, idealistic, and symbolistic interpreters have much in common, and are less definitely separated than they once were. We are not surprised to find an idealist like Cesareo or a symbolist like Flamini insisting on the real existence of Beatrice, and admitting that many incidents in the Vita Nuova are founded on real events; while a realist like Federzoni or D'Ancona naturally admits that Beatrice becomes both an ideal and a symbol, and that the events of the narrative are sometimes arranged and interpreted by Dante to accord with his general plan. Cesareo's violent denial that Beatrice is Folco Portinari's daughter is really quite irrelevant to the main question. If, then, all except a few extremists now admit the reality of Beatrice, at least as a basis for allegory, the main question under discussion at present is whether Dante invented, or drew from "the book of his memory" the events which he describes. One aspect of the question is this: did he write the lyrics at various times, as he asserts, afterwards linking them together with the prose; or did he write all or some of the poems simultaneously with the prose, as maintained by Earle, Cesareo and Federzoni? To the present critic it has always seemed obvious that the prose is subsequent to the poems, and contains whatever allegory there is in the Vita Nuova; that the

^aThis agrees in part with Federzoni's view, that the second *canzone* was written with the prose, and about 1300.

⁴Renier has welcomed Cesareo's edition as showing a reaction against the purely realistic attitude; see Giornale Storico d. Lett. It., LXIII, 413-16. Cf. Rassegna Bibliografica d. Lett. It., XXI, 337-47.

poet's mental attitude when he wrote the prose determined the selection, arrangement and interpretation of the poems; that the symbolism depends not on the invention of significant incidents, but on making real incidents conform to the general idea.5 While recognizing the evolution of Dante's conception of Beatrice from the time when he wrote his first poems, through the prose of the Vita Nuova and the Convivio, to the close of the Divina Commedia, students may well differ as to how far back in this process the allegory, symbolism or idealization begins. It is evident that the V. N. throws much light on the D. C., but it is not safe to assume that the D. C. throws an equal amount of light on the writings that preceded it. Thus Flamini 6 declares that in the V. N. allegory has not yet begun, but that the "little book" lays a foundation for the allegory of the Commedia. The idealization of Beatrice. evident even in the sonnets, is of course not in the least inconsistent with the strictly realistic interpretation of Scherillo. Only in comparatively unessential matters-such as the identification of Beatrice—is Cesareo's view widely divergent. It is, after all, largely a question of emphasis: shall we stress the actual events, or Dante's evident intention of adapting them to a purpose? It may readily be admitted that

8 Cf. J. B. Fletcher, The Allegory of the "Vita Nuova," in Modern Philology, XI, p. 19 (1913): "Assuming the reality of Beatrice and of Dante's love story, I may contend that, having later realized the moral effect of his experience, he 'moralized' the record of his experience. . . Out of a considerable body of occasional poems Dante may have selected those which a connecting and explanatory prose by inreading of meanings not at first intended, by taking advantage of ambiguous words, by tacit interpolation in recapitulation, and by new facts or circumstances related-might adjust to an ex post facto allegory." Prof. Fletcher's ingenious working out of this idea is based on the assumption that the allegory of the V.N. conveys "a message substantially identical with that of the Divina Commedia."

⁶ See his review of Cochin in Rassegna Bibliografica d. Lett. Ital., XVII, 9 (1909). Cochin, in the Introduction to his translation of the V.N. (1908), maintains that Amore means virtue, that Beatrice means beatitude, etc. He accepts, however, the real existence of Beatrice as the daughter of Folco Portinari.

some of the lyrics were not originally written for Beatrice,—that Dante really loved the "screen-ladies." Only critics who deny altogether the real existence of Beatrice are altogether in the wrong. There is no need of recapitulating here the well-known arguments of writers like D'Ancona, Del Lungo, Barbi, Scherillo, Moore, and many others; or of showing the subjective quality of most of the arguments on the other side. It may be added that D'Ancona's discourse on Beatrice, originally written in 1865, and recently published for the fourth time, is still the classic discussion of the subject.

It would be interesting to discuss the views of the four new editors on all the unsettled problems in the Vita Nuova; but to do this fully would require a series of volumes. Two or three typical points may be indicated. On the phrase "la quale fu chiamata da molti Beatrice, li quali non sapeano che si chiamare (§ ii), Scherillo gives a foot-note referring to his appendix "Il nome della Beatrice." Here, beginning on page 295, he discusses the matter at great length without definitely interpreting this particular phrase. Flamini paraphrases: "Molti i quali ignoravano il nome di questa donna, pur la chiamavano 'beatrice' ponendo mente agli effetti che su loro produceva, e coglievan nel segno. Che si chiamare: Che nome proferire per indicarla." Federzoni: "Non sapeano quello che si chiamassero, cioè non intendevano il significato di quel nome Beatrice." Cesareo reads che si chiamare, and says in his foot-note: "Luogo molto oscuro e variamente interpretato. Vuol forse dire che molti chiamavano Beatrice quella donna, ignorando fino a che punto ella meritasse quel nome;" in the proemio, however, p. xiv, he says: "non sapeano che cosa, qual' altra cosa, chiamar così . . . non conoscendo alcuna creatura più degna d'esser così dimandata," and again, p. il: "espressione rimasta enigmatica e in cui Dante chi sa quale simbolo avesse chiuso."

⁷ A. D'Ancona, *Scritti danteschi*, Firenze [1913], in which the author's writings on Dante (including some of the valuable notes in his edition of the *Vita Nuova*) are collected and brought up to date.

Scherillo explains "involta mi parea in uno drappo sanguigno leggeramente" (§ iii) as meaning "involta leggeramente in uno drappo sanguigno" (cf. § ix), and Federzoni agrees with this; Flamini, however, paraphrases: "un lenzuolo colorato lievemente di rosso," and Cesareo has no note on the phrase. In regard to the puzzling sentence "Ego tanquam centrum circuli," etc. (§ xii),8 Scherillo quotes opportunely from Convivio IV, 16, and explains: "io sono nobile . . . cioè perfetto; ma tu, Dante, no, o non ancora!" Flamini does not refer to this passage of the Conv., although it is included in his selections (p. 203); but he gives a philosophic explanation: "Io (diritto amore) sono come il centro del circolo . . . perchè ogni termine di qualsiasi moto spirituale che s'origini da me (centro), è rispetto a me in un identico rapporto, determinato da quella che . . . è ne' desiderî la misura della rettitudine. Ma tu," etc. Federzoni and Cesareo explain the passage as a figure of speech; Federzoni says that, as in a circle there is only one point in perfect (equal) relationship to the circumference, so when love departs from what is right and true it ceases to be noble. Cesareo: "Con le quali parole Amore rinfaccia a Dante che non s'adoperi a conseguire la perfezione simboleggiata nel circolo." Evidently there is still room for sifting, comparing and combining existing commentaries in order to have anything like a definitive annotated edition.9

In conclusion, I should like to rise to a question of personal privilege, if that is the parliamentary term. The last section of Scherillo's book, pp. 363-77, "La Forma architettonica della *Vita Nuova*," is reprinted with slight

changes from the Giornale Dantesco, IX (1901); its purpose is to show that the symmetrical arrangement of the poems as expounded by Charles Eliot Norton, and accepted by various other writers, is a delusion; or at least that if there is any symmetry, it results purely from chance, not from Dante's plan. To this article I replied in 1903,10 tracing the history of the question and attempting to prove the soundness of Norton's theory. It would be wearisome to repeat the demonstration here: I could only reiterate my belief that Scherillo's arguments leave the essential features of the proposition entirely untouched.11 Scherillo adds a poscritto (pp. 373-77) in which he comments interestingly on the historical part of my article, and remarks that I am constrained to reduce the alleged symmetry to this: 12 "Twenty-eight short poems arranged symmetrically around three canzoni, which are in every way written on a different scale from the rest;" he continues that "this much of symmetry" seems to him to be "affatto insignificante, e non franchi la spesa delle stiracchiature e delle concessioni che esso richiede." This statement is misleading; the "reduced" symmetry referred to does not require any "stiracchiature" or "concessioni" whatsoever, but is perfectly patent to any one who makes out a list of the poems,-10 short poems: Canzone I: 4 short poems: Canzone II: 4 short poems: Canzone III: 10 short poems. This is a symmetrical arrangement, whatever may be said to the contrary, and the only legiti-

¹⁰ The Symmetrical Structure of Dante's Vita Nuova, in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XVIII, 341-55.

¹¹ This is the opinion of E. G. Parodi, in Bullettino d. Soc. Dant. Ital., XI, 109-10; G. Picciola, La Vita Nuova di D. A., in Le Opere Minori (Lectura Dantis), Firenze, 1906, p. 102; G. Manacorda, in Rassegna Bibliog. d. Lett. Ital., XII, 177; G. Federzoni, in Giornale Dantesco, X, 3, and in the edition of the V.N., p. x; Pio Rajna, in Romania, XXXIV, 149.

¹² P. 348 of my article. F. Maggini, reviewing Scherillo in *Bullettino d. S. D. It.*, XIX, 118, remarks similarly: "In fin de' conti, egli finisce col contentarsi di una ben ridotta simmetria." Not at all; I believe the symmetry goes much further, but this minimum seemed no longer open to argument.

⁶ Cf. J. B. Fletcher, The Oracle of Love, in The Nation, Dec. 16, 1909.

Onother recent edition may be mentioned here which reprints Barbi's text, but otherwise has no scholarly value; it is Vol. VIII in Serie I of a collection called *Classici Italiani* (Milano, Istituto Editoriale Italiano),—a volume of 347 pages, attractively printed and bound, containing also Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* and the *Convivio*. There are a few harmless foot-notes selected from other editions. The price is lire 2.25.

mate question would be whether, as Scherillo thinks, it is purely accidental.13 Considering the other elements of symmetry in this book where every effect is carefully calculated, and considering that there was not one chance in a thousand of so much symmetry as even this minimum being hit upon unintentionally, I agree with Federzoni that to deny Dante's intention is "proprio senza senso." This does not in itself involve any particular system of interpreting the book. Personally, I do not care for the term "forma architettonica," and I think that the idea of symmetry is pushed too far by some writers. But on the other hand, the fact that it was observed by visionaries like Rossetti and Aroux does not necessarily prove, as Scherillo implies (p. 376), that the whole proposition is visionary. It is noteworthy that Cesareo, without mentioning the symmetrical arrangement, speaks of the predominance of the three canzoni in words similar to those of Rossetti.14 The critics who agree in this matter with Scherillo-except Scherillo himself, who has treated me most courteouslydo not appear to have taken the trouble to read my paper and weigh my arguments.15 I ven-

¹⁸ I am totally unable to comprehend Cochin's note (op. cit., p. vi): "Quelques critiques, et notamment des Américains, ont pensé pouvoir attribuer au livre une architecture méthodique . . . on rencontrerait [!] d'abord dix poèmes courts—puis une grande chanson," etc. Does the French critic doubt the figures?

¹⁴ Cesareo, op. cit., p. xv: "Nelle tre grandi canzoni che, quasi colonne centrali, sostengon l'armonioso edifizio della Vita Nuova," ecc.; cf. p. xxxix. Quotations from Rossetti in my article and in Scheriilo's poscritto.

²⁸ F. Flamini, reviewing Cochin in the Rassegna Bibliog. d. Lett. Ital., XVII, 7, remarks: "Giustamente, proseguendo, il Cochin s'associa allo Scherillo nell'escludere lo schematismo, l' 'architettura metodica' attribuita alla Vita Nuova da taluni critici, specialmente americani." See notes 11, 13 and 14, above. The only Americans who have written on this subject, so far as I know, are Prof. Norton and myself. Zingarelli, Dante, p. 729 (1903, before the publication of my paper), decided that Scherillo "ha finalmente dimostrato assurdo lo schema simmetrico escogitato da C. E. Norton." Melodia, op. cit., p. xlvii, cites my paper, but appears not to have read

ture to hope that, since through the publication of Scherillo's admirable edition the matter has again been brought forward, the facts in the case will become generally recognized, and the symmetrical structure of the *Vita Nuove*, will be permitted to enlighten us as to various problems connected with this book, and as to Dante's method of composition.

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English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1642-1780). By George Henry Nettleton. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914.

This work, of over three hundred pages exclusive of bibliography and index, forms our first exhaustive study of English dramatic literature for the years between 1642 and 1780. Though Sir A. W. Ward and Mr. Gosse have both done valuable work on eighteenth century drama, the unpleasant nature as well as the mediocrity of many plays within the period has discouraged most critics. Professor Nettleton in his work has depended at times upon the criticisms of his distinguished predecessors, but he also has added much to their researches.

The plan of the work is historical, with a grouping of plays and authors chiefly according to the types of drama successively in vogue. A brief sketch of the relations existing between Elizabethan and Restoration drama reveals at the outset Professor Nettleton's interest in the English elements of our drama as distinct from various foreign influences. In view of the usual assumption that after 1660 English

it, since he proposes as his own discovery the second scheme of division which I, following Prof. Norton, had carefully explained (to say nothing of Federzoni). Melodia does not definitely declare his opinion: "Nessuno dei disegni escogitati appare così regolare o così chiaro da togliere il dubbio che Dante ad esso abbia pensato."

drama drew largely upon continental originals, this new angle of approach lends an added interest to the work. Following this preliminary chapter with some facts regarding the dramatic affairs of the Commonwealth, Professor Nettleton then proceeds in successive chapters to give accounts of the various forms in vogue down to 1780. In some instances changes in current opinion, such as the events leading to the Licensing Act, supply topics for chapter headings, but usually the plays discussed are centered about the influence of a few dramatists in the development of a type.

The writers presented thus have not, however, received exhaustive study. Full lists of their works are not given, but only such biographical details as have a relation to the type of drama under discussion. This form of exposition has been made familiar through the Cambridge History of English Literature, where its merits and defects are most apparent. In Professor Nettleton's work one might wish that such figures as Colley Cibber and Aaron Hill had been treated more fully for the sake of a clearer account of theatrical conditions; for such information one must depend upon casual references. In the case of such well-known figures as Congreve, Steele, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, no such complaint can be made, for the familiar facts regarding their plays are well fitted into the review of the entire period. Particular praise, too, is due the chapter on Etherege and Wycherley for the careful estimate made of these secondary figures. If one is dissatisfied with the sketchy form of the brief studies of many minor dramatists, he may well remember that the clearness of the whole depends largely upon such suppression of the unessentials.

Professor Nettleton offers some new views on several stock topics of discussion. He sees in Francis Quarles' The Virgin Widow (printed 1649) a new claimant for the honor of having introduced rimed verse into the drama of the century, but he still credits Dryden with the establishment of the vogue. A more important contribution to criticism lies in the suggestion concerning one source for sentimental comedy. The author sees in the

comedies of Steele and of his successors in this field an imitation of the emotional appeal that existed earlier in the "tragedies of pity" written by Otway and Southerne. A plausible case is made out for this influence of a dramatic type upon another kind of play, and in this source-work Professor Nettleton has made his best point for English materials in English drama in place of supposed continental originals. A similar plea might be made for the influence of the "love-and-honor" debates of heroic tragedy upon sentimental comedy, for though the older type is more vigorous in its emotional appeal, it is equally analytical. The form of appeal is surely similar, but perhaps the relationship is less apparent than in the other instances. At least Professor Nettleton's suggestion has opened the way for a new study of the origins of sentimental comedy as a type owing much to earlier English drama.

But it is in the denial of a strong French influence upon early Restoration drama that the author departs most decisively from older criticism. In considering the Restoration drama, Professor Nettleton's method has been to enforce the relationships known to exist between Elizabethan and Restoration drama by asserting that Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher were far more influential fundamentally than Corneille and Racine. He effectively presents an account of the drolls of the Interregnum as one proof of an uninterrupted English tradition, and his conclusions are most reasonable.

Some matters of interest have possibly received less consideration than one desires in a work of literary history. For instance, would it have been impossible, following Dr. Ward's example, to give terse summaries of the most important plots? Such summaries appear in the text occasionally, but in the case of plays so rarely read—and often so unfit for reading—one wishes that this aid had been granted more freely to the casual student. At least full plot outlines might well have been given of typical plays; one could then get definite notions concerning the qualities of reformed, "humor," and sentimental comedies without close reading of several plays. Even the ad-

vanced student would have welcomed such summaries of plots that are often vague and unwieldy. If other additions would not have made an unduly large work, one would have appreciated separate chapters on the history of the theatres and dramatic companies, as well as much more fact regarding the importance of stage properties in an eighteenth century play-house. Undoubtedly these topics are in themselves broad enough for separate studies, as are such topics as the political dramas of the thirties, or the runs of pantomime, opera, and burlesque. Much of this extraneous material can be found in Watson Nicholson's The Struggle for a Free Stage in London, and in a recent book on Aaron Hill by Miss Dorothy Brewster; but the general survey still remains unwritten. Undoubtedly Professor Nettleton himself possesses much unpublished information on the circumstances of dramatic production during the eighteenth century, so that further studies may follow his present publi-

The net result of reading this valuable study is a feeling that much more must be done before authoritative opinions can be expected on matters of secondary interest. In the words of the author, one admits that "convenient generalizations must not be mistaken for fixed laws governing dramatic development," and it is through incisive attack upon some of these groundless generalizations that Professor Nettleton has done excellent service. His uniform refusal to generalize too freely from his own conclusions gives his work an authority that it could have gained in no other fashion, and it is for such conservatism as well as for stimulating suggestions concerning sources that one must consider this study of importance. Moreover, the brief critical bibliographies will furnish fit guidance for students beginning work in the period.

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French Prophets of Yesterday: A Study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire, by Albert Léon Guérard. New York, Appleton, 1913. 288 pp.

An excellent piece of work! The plan of Professor Guérard's book has been well conceived, and as well executed. A study of the most important period of French literature of the nineteenth century in the light of its religious history, or rather, evolution, it has both an historical and a philosophical value. answering the question, "Why is the anti-religious spirit predominant in France to-day?" the author analyses the religious tendencies and evolution of representative writers, whom he groups, adopting the three states of Comte, under the standards of theology, metaphysics, and positivism. He has focussed his attention on the period of twenty-two years (1851-1871) during which Louis Napoleon, as president and emperor, was the ruler of France, a period of which it is possible to give an historical survey, because it is far enough removed from us for the principles involved not to be obscured by the smoke of controversy.

Having stated the problem and its possible solution, the author devotes a liberal allowance of space to the Catholic writers. Few and insignificant factors in literature as they are, they were as a house divided, on account of the fatal part politics exercised on the religious life of France under the second empire, when the pass-word among the orthodox Catholics was "absolutism in politics, and infallibility in religion." The present political situation in France is only one of many examples of the reaction which comes as a result of the unholy pact between church and state. Guérard undertakes to explain the present hostile intellectual and spiritual attitude. In his analysis of Catholic writers of such varied tendencies and temperaments as Baudelaire, Maret, Gratry, Hello, Veuillot and Montalembert, he shows how they were rewarded and condemned by their ecclesiastical superiors in proportion to their fervidness for the cause of Ultramontanism and against a compromise with modern thought. A church which exalted the untruthful rabidness of the ignorant and superstitious Veuillot, and stamped as infamous the compromises of the cultivated Montalembert and the broad-minded Gratry, was bound to lose even its moral prestige, in a community in which education became the first order of the day.

It was unfortunate for doctrinal religion that the Roman church failed in its mission, as Protestantism had never struck its roots very deep in French soil. Of the three writers discussed by Professor Guérard, only Guizot remained orthodox. By the use he made of his power to drive out the liberal wing of his own church, and by his readiness to join hands with Ultramontanism in suppressing free thought everywhere, he only succeeded in antagonizing a party of his own co-religionists, and, as much a doctrinaire in religion as in politics and in history, his reactionary Méditations repelled the intellectuals, who admired and imitated him as a historian. If Scherer and Quinet commenced as Protestants, that individualism of thought which is the essence of Protestantism led to free thought in the case of the one, and to an impossible compromise of religion and philosophy in the case of the other. The springs of moral and social action for the future had to be sought elsewhere than in the two opposing theological schools.

However high places as critics and literary men may be assigned to Doudan, Lanfrey, About and Mérimée, the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century, which they represented, cannot be reckoned as a social force in the nineteenth century, even if it was galvanized into life for twenty years, as a consequence of the victory within the church of Ultramontanism and its accompanying superstitions. Its totally destructive tendency, which led to the literary nihilism of Mérimée, did not satisfy the aspirations of the growing generation, who had a chance to listen to a broader and more sympathetic philosophy. This, the combination of a deep patriotic spirit, of a passionate longing for social justice, of a feeling of the necessity of using humanity's religious energy without the constraints of a narrow ritualism, led Romanticism to pass from its first attitude of individualism, pessimism, and conservatism, to a later attitude of humanitarianism, optimism, and of progress. This evolution is best exemplified in its two greatest exponents, the supreme French poet Victor Hugo, and one of the few masters of French prose style, Michelet.

But with the fall of the second French republic with all its hopes of making the philosophy of humanitarianism a practice of life, that philosophy lost its power of attraction, and its idealistic system was slowly but surely replaced by a philosophy of realism, the growth of an historical and scientific spirit. This new philosophy did not attempt to give a definite answer to teleological questions, and did not particularly concern itself with them; it did not proclaim itself as a gospel, bringing tidings of great joy; but its continued success in settling important questions from the point of view of relativism and history, were so many blows towards destroying any absolute and doctrinal systems, clerical or not. While the forces of theology have fought a losing fight since its first encounter with this new scientific spirit, the leaders of the humanitarians recognized its supremacy, if they were not able to adopt its methods. This positivist movement, a constructive philosophy with a background of spiritual faith, as prefigured in the Orphic sayings of Saint-Simon and formulated by Comte, was the source from which Proudhon drew inspiration and material to instil new elements into the exhausted creed of socialism. In poetry it is best represented by the later poetry of Alfred de Vigny, where one finds a feeling of human solidarity with a sentiment of the "majesty of human suffering," evolved from the youthful egoistical resignation of the early work of the poet, and in the more impersonal poetry of Leconte de Lisle, whose ideal was the attainment of truth through science and its discoveries. But if in the work of these poets one finds an interpretation of the aims and results of the new spirit, the richest of these results were due to the new

direction given to historical and literary studies, of which the most eminent exponents were Sainte-Beuve, Taine and Renan. If Sainte-Beuve and Taine are grouped together by Professor Guérard, it is for the sake of contrast, and not on account of any resemblance in their temperaments or in their religious evolution, which were as diverse as their critical methods and results. Sainte-Beuve, who confessed "J'ai fait un peu de mythologie chrétienne en mon temps," after passing through what he called a long course in moral physiology, in his last years stepped out boldly into the field as a warm defender of free thought; while Taine, who commenced his teaching career by paying in full the penalty for his boldness in shattering the idols of official Christian eclecticism, ended by being adopted as the champion of all that was retrogressive in French thought and politics, a result due to his own inelastic philosophic formulae, and to the personal shock of the excesses of the Commune. To no other writer does Professor Guérard give so much space as he devotes to Renan, in whom he finds a living synthesis of his nation and of his time, in whom the most diverse tendencies are represented, if not harmonised. In him one finds at once the humble and sympathetic moralist and the intellectual aristocrat, the aesthetic sybarite and the laborious savant, the hopeful idealist and the conscientious posi-Such are the leaders of thought who inspired the school of positive doctrines to which have been subjected the generations of Frenchmen who have grown up under the Third Republic. Those generations have been cheered with idealism if not with op imism, and that idealism has been and is anti-religious, with no promise of a change in its tendency for the future as far as can be seen.

Such are the general intent and results of this book, which the author has written to show the English among whom he has been educated, and the Americans among whom he has elected to live, the reason of the present religious status of France. One can not only agree with his philosophic conclusions, and approve of the tone, reverent yet liberal, with which he treats

his subject, but also commend his delicate literary appreciation and the acute characterization of his authors and their work. I can only note a few instances of the excellence of his interpretations. It is a pleasure to find an adequate judgment of the work of Proudhon, who is generally considered such a negligible quantity in the history of French thought that a contemporary empirical critic of nineteenth-century literature refers to him as "the agitator Proudhon." English and American critics, adopting a view only too gladly nourished by French clericals, have attacked Renan on account of the hedonistic advice which in his last years he gave to the growing generation. Professor Guérard reinforces the correct explanation, set forth by Lemaître twenty years ago, that it was the very fact that he had to his credit a life of forty years of unremitted labor, of spotless integrity and purity, that made the great scholar fear he would seem a prig if he dogmatised on moral conduct. Professor Guérard is just as happy in his passing evaluation of a minor figure as in his analysis of the leaders. To call Cousin "a unique mixture of the Philistine, the mountebank, and the prophet" is a perfect tribute.

At two or three points one could wish that the outline had been filled in a little fuller. For instance, Michelet's religious evolution is surely interesting enough to trace instead of leaving it to be assumed; the scientific background of Leconte de Lisle's philosophy, of which the pessimistic quality is perhaps too much emphasized, should have been sketched in more detail. There are a few statements of fact which need correction. Thus, in discussing the sources of romanticism the statement is made: "Long before the publication of Michelet's amusing and highly romantic Sorcière (1862), the alliance of demon-worship and debauchery in witchcraft was a commonplace of popular history" (p. 36). Now this combination of crimes was invented or adopted by ecclesiastical inquisitors in their campaign against the heresies of the fourteenth century, was continued as one of the articles of accusations against the victims of heresy and

witchcraft trials for nearly four centuries, and has survived in popular tradition to the present day. Michelet's account of this baneful conception, in his indictment of a cruel delusion, can hardly be accounted a source of romanticism. In stating that "Maret escaped formal censure and died an archbishop" (p. 59, n.), Professor Guérard forgets that Pio Nono vetoed his nomination to the see of Vannes, and that he was only bishop in partibus. But such omissions and slips do not detract from the prime value of this original, sane and informing book.

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CORRESPONDENCE

JACOBITE LYRICS

During the years in which Peter Buchan was gathering material for his various publications, many songs came to hand which he did not see fit to print. Some of these were probably the work of James Rankine, and were therefore excluded from the collections. Others, which Buchan prepared for the press even to the point of writing explanatory notes, he cancelled for no discoverable reason.

Two such songs, which Buchan certainly did not print, and which I have been unable to find in any published collection, I append in the form in which they appear in Buchan's Ms. I have copied them from one of the Harvard College Library Buchan Mss., H. C. L. no. 25241.10, which is itself an exact copy of the original in the British Museum. The first song appears to be anonymous, but the second is assigned to the Reverend John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum." Both songs are in the second volume of the Ms., on pages 327 and 452.

THE WHITE HARE OF CULLODEN

Charley Stewart and his men, they stood in a row, The hare she ran thro' them and away she did go. They all fired at her, but the hare, she said, no, As she ran for her life in the morning. But the hare she lay down and fell o'er on her back, When the prince he saw it, his visage turn'd black, He said to his men, we may a' turn back,

For we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

And Oh! said his nobles, but where can we flee,
For we are surrounded by land and by sea,
It's Oh! Charley Stewart had we never seen thee,
For we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

And Oh! said his nobles, our portion's but sma',
Our horses and lands they are forfeited a',
Our wives and our children they're a' forc'd awa',
And we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

I wat Charley Stewart you've dane's a mischance No to bring ony men over frae France, But lead us poor highlandmen sic a mad dance, For we're a' sure to die in the morning.

Then in the next morning when daylight came on, On the field of Culloden, the fight did begin, And wae's me our highland lads forc'd were to rin, Or bide an' be shot in the morning.

> Young Edward the Prince Rev'd John Skinner Tune, The Brow of the Hill

In Paris, fair town, lived great Gallia's lord, Rever'd by his neighbours, by his subjects ador'd, Whose fleets and whose armies great wonders had wrought,

And spread terror and triumph wherever they fought. Wide kingdoms obey'd the proud victor's command, And obey'd the great grandson of Lewis-a-Grand.

Young Edward the Prince, of Stewarts' old race, Who could conquer with meekness, and suffer with grace,

He would oft times appear at the monarch's gay

And depended on France for a kingly support. His aid he oft claimed as his father had done To restore him again to his ancestor's throne.

The monarch consented, and promis'd, and vow'd, By all that was great, by all that was good, To assist the young Edward, thus forward and bold, With the choice of his forces, and half of his gold, And now all his subjects expected once more To see him again on Britannia's shore.

But as soon as Hanover and Lewis were friends
Then honour and justice must yield to his ends,
The monarch as false as the tempest that blows
Forgets all his former engagements and vows.
And now the young Edward was falsely beray'd
Must leave the French Kingdom, elsewhere to seek
aid.

Take heed ye brave heroes of Britain's fair isle, How ye trust in French faith in your present exile, For the French they are fickle, and guineas are strong And may tempt even Christian Kings to do wrong. Then rely not on Lewis for help nor defence, But remember the fate of Young Edward the Prince.

(From the author's handwriting .- P. B.)

Both these songs are undoubtedly retrospective productions, and belong rather to the time of Burns and Hogg than to the actual period of the Forty-five.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE ON The Miller and his Sons

Soon after the appearance of my brief article on The Miller and his Sons in Modern Language Notes, November, 1913, Mr. Alfred Ela, of Boston, called my attention to a version of the same song printed in the "Notes and Queries" of the Boston Transcript, October 3, This version was from Bell's Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England (London, 1857). References were given to two other versions, one in Baring Gould's Songs and Ballads of the West, the other in Roxburghe Ballads, III, 681 (Vol. XXXVI of the Ballad Society Publications, p. 611). On consulting these books I found that the version in Roxburghe Ballads was reprinted from a white letter copy dating from about 1730, and that Baring Gould referred to another version in Northumbrian Minstrelsy (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1882). I have found still another version "taken down from recitation" by D. Macphail, and printed February 6, 1869, in Notes and Queries, Series IV, Vol. III, p. 129.

A comparison of all these versions with the one given by Celia Thaxter shows that either she or her ballad singer on the Isles of Shoals had shortened and changed the song, although the outline of the story, the answers of the first and second sons, and many phrases throughout, remain the same.

The dying miller says that his "glass" is "almost run" in the versions of the song given by Celia Thaxter, Baring Gould, and Macphail. This is also a variant reading in the Roxburghe Ballads. But the preferred reading there, and the only one in the versions in Bell and in the Northumbrian Minstrelsy is, "My life is almost run."

In Celia Thaxter's conclusion, the miller "shot up his eyes and died in peace." In the Roxburghe Ballads he "clos'd up his eyes and dy'd." In Bell's version and in the Northumbrian Minstrelsy he "turned up his toes and died." In Baring Gould's form "He laugh'd, gave up the ghost, and died." In Macphail's version his death is not described.

Celia Thaxter's is the only version to give a name to the youngest son. In the other versions the youngest son's answer runs approximately, "I'll take it all and forswear the sack." The position of "all" in the middle of the line makes it seem improbable that the original version had Mrs. Thaxter's rime of "Paul" and "all," and yet hers is the obvious way of making the third answer parallel the first and second. The present state of our knowledge would warrant a reversal of the conjecture in my previous article, where I said that Pope's rime might be due to a recollection of this song. On the contrary, Mrs. Thaxter's version may owe something to Pope. Yet it is not impossible that Mrs. Thaxter has preserved an original feature of the song which has been lost in the other versions mentioned above. It is noticeable that the only other marked variation among the different versions is also at the end, where the Macphail version brings in "the grain of mooter" and loses the rime with "sack."

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S ADAM

The well-known lines of Chaucer in which he calls down the plagues upon the head of Adam 'his owne scriveyn' and Petrarch's letter to a friend lamenting the conditions of copying,2 might lead one to assume that all copyists of that day were alike. There is preserved, however, a contemporary record which indicates that honesty had no yet been whipped out of the trade. In 1403 the "reputable men of the Craft of Writers of Text-letter, those commonly called 'Limners,' 3 and other good folks, citizens of London, who were wont to bind and to sell books," petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen that "they may elect yearly two reputable men, the one a Lymenour, the other a Text-Writer (escriveyn text 4), to be Wardens of the said trades." These Wardens are "diligently to oversee, that good rule and governance is had and exercised by all folks of the same trades . . . pertaining, to the praise and good fame of the loyal good men of the said trades, and to the shame and blame of the bad and disloyal men of the same." 5 From time to time the Wardens may present to the Chamberlain (at the Guildhall) "the defaults of the said bad and disloyal men; . . . to the end that the same may there, according to the wise and prudent discretion of the governors of the said city, be corrected, punished, and duly redressed." Because "it concerned the common weal and profit," the petition was

¹Emerson, too, laments that correctness is very rare. "I am sure no author believes that any reader of his verses will copy them accurately." *Journals*, 1856–1863 (Boston, 1913), pp. 398–399.

- ³ Quoted by Root, The Poetry of Chaucer (Boston, 1906), pp. 69-70.
 - Illuminators (see Letter-Book I, p. 25).
- *Ibid., p. 26. The Lymenours had had a mistery before this time (Ibid. H, pp. 389, 403). They now seem to have joined with the scriveners.
- ⁵ Italics are mine. The rebellious are to be punished according to an ordinance passed in 1364 (*Letter-Book G*, p. 174) affecting all undesirables in the different trades of the city, that is fine and imprisonment.

unanimously granted. Unfortunately, Chaucer did not live to enjoy this new lease of honesty.

Among the complaints mentioned by Petrarch one was the laziness of the copyists. From Chaucer's lines we infer that Adam's sins were quite different. Indeed they sound so modern that they might have been addressed to a professional workman of the twentieth century. Why the haste on Adam's part Chaucer does not take the pains to tell us. Possibly he didn't know, but perhaps the following interesting will of a London scrivener (made in 1371) may throw some light. At all events, it will be stimulating.

Geoffrey Patrik, "scryveyn," 7 desires to be buried "in the churchyard of S. Mary's Chapel in the new churchyard near Smethefeld." He leaves bequests "to the said chapel, and to the church of S. Michael de Paternostercherche and ministers therein." To two sons he makes pecuniary bequests, also to three daughters (one of whom was an idiot),8 his apprentice,9 a chaplain, a friar hermit "at the place called 'le Swannesnest' near the Tower," a recluse monk near the Tower, another friar hermit and his two companions; "also to each of the four orders of friars, the three colleges of lepers near London." To his family he leaves a tenement "in the parish of St. Giles." To his wife the custody of the children as long as she remains unmarried, "also twenty pounds sterling by way of dower of his movable goods,

⁶Arber, A Transcript of the Stationers' Registers (London, 1875), Vol. I, p. xxiii. First printed by Riley in his Memorials of London (pp. 557 f.). A summary by Sharpe in Letter-Book I (Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, London, 1909), pp. 25 f. Cf. Wattenbach, Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter (Leipzig, 1875), p. 472.

^{&#}x27;Elsewhere he is mentioned as a "clerk of la Riole" (Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings, ed. Sharpe, London, 1889–1890. 2 Parts. Part II, p. 35). He was also a clerk to Cecilia Rose, "relict of Thomas Rose, clerk." (Ibid., p. 228.)

⁸ Letter-Book H, pp. 430-1. A guardian appointed for her and her property "in the parish of St. Giles without Crepulgate."

Adam?

her entire chamber, and all beds, linen and woollen clothes, vessels, etc." The "residue of his goods" is to be divided—one part to go to his wife and the other "to be devoted to pious and charitable uses." 10 A pretty formidable list of worldly goods in addition to having reared a family of five. 11 Was it accumulated through haste or were the copyists well paid?

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BRIEF MENTION

The Cartulario de Don Felipe III Rey de Francia, publicado por D. Mariano Arigita y Lasa (Madrid, Sucesores de Hernando, 1913, 8vo., vii + 159 pp.) deserves mention here on account of its two French and seven Aragonese documents, the remaining 157 being Latin. The codex is preserved in the Archivo General de Navarra (in Pamplona) and consists of royal letters of the years 1274-1279, to which the edition has added several documents of the same period. The editorial work leaves something to be desired. The editor has ignored completely the publication of Brutails (Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre, Paris, 1890), a comparison with which reveals variations in the title of the Cartulario and in the measurements of the manuscript. Furthermore, Brutails' study of the Ms. is much more detailed than that of Arigita. and describes the characteristic handwriting of folios 16-23 as of the second half of the thirteenth century. Arigita notes that "los dos amanuenses eran algo impéritos en la lengua latina," but he makes no mention of the linguistic atrocities of the two French documents (nos. 25 and 112), the first of which is unintelligible in its printed form: we can but guess, for example, that nainez may be 'nauez'; issix, 'issir'; que lau face mil custrages, 'que l'an

face nul ultrage.' The Aragonese texts make a much more favorable impression, though we wonder somewhat at que (p. 72, l. 11), veiendo (114, 21), or (115, 5 and 7), todrian (115, 4), io (115, 5), sayeyllada, sayeylla (115, 11), Mont pant (127, 11). The work is accompanied by historical and geographical commentaries, and an index of proper names.

German lexicography has always played the step-mother towards Fremdwörter. The current Fremdwörterbücher, such as that of Heyse, attempt little more than to give a German definition of more or less technical foreign terms. Fremdwörter as such were entirely excluded from Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch, and of more recent dictionaries on a professedly historical basis only the new Weigand has admitted any considerable number of them. The tracing of the history of a Fremdwort has hence almost invariably been attended with difficulties far greater than those encountered in the case of words of native stock. There is, accordingly, ample reason for welcoming the first volume (A-K) of a new Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch by Hans Schulz (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913; 8vo., xxiii + 416 pp., b'd. M. 9.-) which is calculated to fill this gap. Schulz, who is a pupil of Kluge, treats only those foreign words that are generally current in the German of to-day. Strictly technical expressions and words now obsolete are disregarded. The first of these limitations will meet with general approval, and from the second there was also no escape in a work of the present compass. Within these limits the material has been collected and treated with extreme care. How large a field has been covered is indicated by the more than five hundred titles listed under the head of Quellen, all of these texts having been excerpted for the purposes of the dictionary. If any general criticism be in place, it is perhaps that no account should have been taken of pronunciation (including accent) or grammatical form. Thus one is frequently left in doubt as to the form, or indeed the existence, of a plural. The illustrative quotations are ample in number, and are presented in a most convenient way, each being accompanied by the date and the exact reference. make-up of the book is exceptionally good.

¹⁰ Calendar of Wills, etc. Part II, pp. 147-8.

 $^{^{11}}$ He had had another son (Ibid., p. 35) who probably had died.

¹ Junta para Ampliación de Estudios é Investigaciones Científicas. Sección de Estudios Históricos.

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